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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

MARITAL ROLES IN A RESOURCE COMMUNITY

by

KENNETH CHARLES KUHN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled MARITAL ROLES IN A RESOURCE COMMUNITY submitted by KENNETH CHARLES KUHN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines marital role allocation in Ft. McMurray, Alberta, a Canadian resource community. Rapid population growth in resource communities tends to disrupt marital and family life. It is predicted that population mobility, limited employment opportunities for women, and stessful living conditions in Ft. McMurray are barriers to sharing the provider and domestic roles.

In 1978-79, data were gathered from 1209 randomly selected households in Ft. McMurray, Edmonton and the Cold Lake region, three Alberta communities differing systemically in socio-economic development. The interview questionnaires included measures of marital role enactment developed by Nye (1976).

The findings indicate a trend toward marital role sharing in the Alberta communities, compared with Nye's findings a decade earlier. Wives share the provider role to a greater extent than husbands share the domestic role. As expected, marital role sharing is less prevalent in the resource community compared with the urban and rural social contexts. This is due primarily to the lower average age of the migrants to Ft. McMurray, the majority of whom were in the child-rearing stage of the family life cycle. Occupational distributions indicate a situation of relatively limited employment opportunities for women. Wives "blocked" in their employment aspirations were less satisfied with life in the community than other residents.

The study also developed a path analytical model of selected socialization, attitudinal, and economic predictor variables, combining reference group, economic-resource and subjective-utility approaches to explaining marital role allocation. While a transition toward symmetrical roles is apparent, ideological and structural restraints continue to inhibit equity in gender-role relationships.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The allocation of marital roles is an aspect of social behaviour of considerable interest in both the popular media and the more technical sociological research literature. The social processes of industrialization and modernization have been accompanied by new attitudes and behaviours regarding the division of labour in the family. The traditional division of labour by sex is apparently giving way to greater role sharing, in which duties are allocated by couples on the basis of resources, preferences and negotiation (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Scanzoni, 1972; Young and Willmott, 1973; Rallings and Nye, 1979; Lupri, 1983; Piotrkowski et al., 1987).

The rates at which these changes are occurring, the relationship between attitudes and behaviours, the specific dimensions of marital roles which are affected, and the intervening social factors which influence these changes, however, remain areas of continuing research.

In this study, the term marital roles refers specifically to the expectations and behaviours of husbands and wives regarding the providing for family needs through paid employment in the labour force and the maintenance of domestic needs of the family through housekeeping tasks. Traditionally these roles have been assigned according to sex, with the husband fulfilling the provider role, and the wife the housekeeping role. The sharing of

marital roles refers to the degree to which wives are sharing the provider role by taking employment in the labour force, and reciprocally husbands are sharing the domestic role through taking on greater responsibility for housework and other household tasks.

The primary purpose of this thesis is to determine the social factors associated with the sharing of marital roles by couples living in Ft. McMurray, a resource extraction community in the province of Alberta, Canada. Ft. McMurray is a community in Alberta, about 450 km north of Edmonton, the provincial capital. Ft. McMurray grew rapidly in the 1970's due to the development of oil sands in that region. Many new residents migrated to Ft. McMurray to work in the construction and plant operations of the oil sands production facilities. The rapid growth of this community provides a laboratory for exploring social relationships under conditions of rapid social change.

This study will analyse three social surveys which have been conducted to assess the social impact of such rapid growth communities (Larson, 1977; Gartrell et al., 1980a, 1980b). These social impact studies, conducted through the Population Research Laboratory of the Department of Sociology of the University of Alberta, provide a data base which includes communities at three levels of social and economic development: baseline pre-development semi-rural community (Cold Lake Region), new town resource community (Ft. McMurray) and a highly developed metropolitan community (Edmonton). Thus, it is possible to examine whether the sharing of marital roles is

systematically associated with the macro-sociological context in which couples are residing.

1.1.1. Shared marital roles: emerging ideology and practice

Sociological research suggests that the sharing of marital roles has emerged in recent decades (Young and Willmott, 1973). Indicators of this trend include attitudes which are increasingly favourable toward shared marital roles (Kaley, 1971; Boyd, 1975; Brown, 1978; Albrecht et al., 1979), and marital behaviours which are increasingly egalitarian (Pleck, 1979; Piotrkowski et al., 1987).

Sociological theory attributes these changes to a variety of causal factors. Industrialization resulted in greater specialization in the nuclear family, and the separation of the domains of family and work. Husbands began to specialize in instrumental roles, and wives in expressive roles (Parsons and Bales, 1955). It was widely believed that this sex-role division of labour was a universal pattern (Zelditch, 1955). As women increasingly entered the labour force, a transition has occurred in marital structure toward a "symmetrical family," marked by a movement toward equal sharing of marital roles. (Young and Willmott, 1973). The research literature, however, also indicates that significant barriers exist which affect the rates and specific patterns of changing marital roles. Much of the labour force continues to be segmented by gender (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984). Females take on paid employment more readily than males take on

housework. Males exhibit considerable reluctance to take on "menial" household tasks (Meissner et al., 1975; Lupri and Mills, 1987).

In spite of these generalizations, surprisingly little research on trends of marital role allocation had been conducted in Canada up to the 1970's (Eichler, 1975; Nett, 1979). This study will seek to build upon Canadian research prior to 1980, by comparing marital role patterns in the late 70's in the Alberta samples with those of earlier Canadian and relevant American studies. Given the variety of types of communities from which the surveys examined in this study were taken, it is possible to explore the extent to which specific social contexts either inhibit or promote the emergence of shared marital roles.

1.1.2. The social impact of resource communities

This study has a particular interest in patterns of marital role allocation in resource extraction communities. Primary resource extraction is an important component of Canadian economic activity. Communities built around primary resource extraction industries constitute a significant facet of the Canadian experience (eg, Lucas, 1971). Often such resource development has included the construction of "new towns" -- communities planned to house the labour force working in these extraction industries. Such communities often grow very rapidly, and exhibit considerable social instability. There is considerable interest in the social relationships that exist in such resource communities. No comprehensive study has been made, however, of the

effects of residence in resource towns on the the sharing of marital roles.

Drawing from the general systems approach to the family (Bubolz and Paolucci, 1976; Paolucci et al., 1977, Broderick and Smith, 1979), it can be expected that greater marital role sharing would be associated increasingly with those social contexts which are more complex and developed. A principle of systems theory is that greater information and energy resources tend to influence more elaborated role patterns (Carisse, 1975). The greater educational and employment opportunities in the more developed communities would tend to create conditions more conducive to the sharing of marital roles.

Studies of resource communities, however, have found that the social conditions often have a negative impact on marital and family life (Lucas, 1971; Riffel, 1975). The rapid population growth of resource communities is quite disruptive of family life (Albrecht, 1978; Kohrs, 1974). Younger couples are most likely to migrate into the communities, resulting in a disproportionate number of younger children. Often, the supply of housing amenities and community services cannot keep pace with the rapid population growth. Moving to a new community often interrupts labour force participation for spouses (Long, 1974; Duncan and Perucci, 1976). Often employment opportunities are not available for women. These community conditions may create barriers for marital role sharing.

The research literature on resource communities would generally suggest

that conditions in such communities are not conducive to the enactment of shared marital roles. Thus, the general thesis of this study is that the rapid population growth and the resultant deficiencies in living conditions typical of resource communities generate considerable social stress, which tends to impede marital role sharing.

1.2. RESEARCH PLAN

This dissertation conducts an empirical examination of the validity of this generalization by comparing shared marital roles in three communities which differ in their rates of population growth, population composition and occupational structure, and by examining the relationship between particular features of resource communities and marital role sharing. The study analyses data gathered by means of interviews of representative samples of households selected from three Alberta communities: Ft. McMurray (Gartrell et al., 1980a), Edmonton (Kennedy et al., 1978), and the Cold Lake region (Gartrell et al., 1980b). These communities have been selected because very similar surveys had been conducted as part of a broader social impact analysis of resource development in Alberta. The communities are also of interest in that they represent contrasting social contexts on a continuum of urbanization, or socio-economic complexity, from the rural and small town setting of the Cold Lake region, through the rapidly growing resource community of Ft. McMurray, to the highly developed, metropolitan city of Edmonton. As such they enable the examination of changing marital role patterns in community contexts which differ systemically from each

other, yet are contemporary to one another. The secondary analysis of these data sources in this dissertation has three purposes:

1. To assess trends of marital role allocation by comparing patterns in the three Alberta communities at the time of the surveys with the findings of earlier studies.

2. To identify social characteristics of married persons which are associated with marital role allocation within each community, and to assess the distinct effects of specific predictor using multiple regression and path analysis.

3. To examine the impact of rapid social change on marital roles which may be associated with migration to and residence in resource communities. This will be accomplished by comparing patterns of role allocation among the three communities and the conditions related to these patterns.

1.3. SUMMARY

Through the secondary analysis of data assembled from probability samples of three Alberta communities, this thesis examines the effect of community context on marital role sharing. The general expectation is that marital role sharing is disrupted under the conditions present in resource communities. This expectation is explored in the context of changing trends of marital

role allocation, and the specific individual and familial characteristics which are associated with marital role allocation.

The dissertation is organized into seven chapters: 1. Introduction, 2. Review of Literature, 3. Research Methods, 4. Findings: Trends of Marital Role Allocation, 5. Findings: Predictors of Marital Role Allocation, 6. Community Context and Marital Role Allocation, 7. Summary and Conclusions.

In the second chapter pertinent research literature is reviewed, from which propositions are developed which guide the empirical examination of role patterns in the three communities.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, research literature is reviewed regarding marital role allocation, and resource communities. As the data were gathered in 1978 and 1979, the literature review is limited to research reported up to the early 1980's. More recent research is integrated with the results of this study in the final chapters of the dissertation.

The review of literature is organized in to four sections. The first section deals with approaches to marital role allocation, and defines the concepts used to describe shared marital roles, the dependent variable of this study. The other sections deal with the various factors which may influence marital roles: social trends, individual attributes and marital and family structural factors, and social conditions in resource communities.

In each section, propositions are developed to be tested empirically in the survey data. The formulation of propositions follows the patterns and procedures developed by Burr (1973), and utilized by Burr et al. (1979), and together constitute a propositional inventory. The operational indicators used to measure the concepts employed in the propositions are defined in Chapter Three.

2.1. MARITAL ROLE ALLOCATION

This study builds upon and extends the formative research of Nye and associates (Nye, 1976). Nye employs the central sociological concept of

"role" to analyse the structure and behaviour of contemporary families. Nye's study also provides a baseline which is used in this study to assess trends in marital role patterns.

Critical attention has been given to the application of role theory to marital and family behaviour (Gross et al., 1958; Biddle and Thomas, 1966; Banton, 1965; Znaniecki, 1965; Jackson, 1972; Sarbin and Allen, 1968; Biddle, 1979). Burr's two volume review of contemporary theories (Burr et al., 1979) also illustrates the persistence and utility of role theory in family sociology. [1]

2.1.1. Structural and interactional conceptions of role

There are two distinct traditions within sociology regarding role theory: the structural and interactional (Nye and Gecas, 1976:4; also Heiss, 1968:4; The structural tradition views a role as an aspect of culture, consisting of the normative expectations which are associated with a social position or status (Linton, 1936, 1945). The behaviour of an individual who occupies a specific social position is guided by the behavioural expectations assigned to that status by the culture. Role is the active, dynamic aspect of a social position. The values, attitudes and behavioural expectations associated with a position consititute a social role. The individual is linked to the society through assignment to, socialization into, and the performance of

[1]Particularly Chapter 2 which discusses the symbolic interaction approach to the family.

these social roles. From the structural perspective role change might best be understood as a function of changes emerging from the cultural context, due to such factors as technological innovation, cultural assimilation, and the redistribution of social and economic resources.

The interactionist tradition has roots in the seminal work of George Herbert Mead (1934). From this perspective role is viewed as an outgrowth of social interaction. A social role is essentially the patterned behaviour which emerges from the regular interaction of social actors.

Role theory has persisted due to its analytical capacity to link the individual to the social structure. Through role expectations, the culture defines and controls the behaviour of its members; yet out of social interaction roles are modified to accommodate the needs, demands and expectations of social others. Role theory has also persisted due to the flexibility of its concepts to describe various aspects of social functioning. Concepts such as role segment, role set, role strain, role playing, taking the role of the other, casting into a role, and emergent roles, have proven to be of considerable utility in capturing various aspects of interpersonal behaviours.

Both of these perspectives may be utilized productively to analyse the family. Heiss (1968:29) notes that the structural approach highlights "questions of content, organization and consequences," while the Meadian approach deals with questions of process. Further, the interaction approach

deals primarily with processes internal to the family, while the structural approach is interested in "the relationship between family roles and external systems." A complete theory optimally might deal with both internal processes and external conditions. The data analysed in this study include little information concerning interactional processes, such as mechanisms of interpersonal influence, negotiation and social contracting. While social roles are indeed a product of interactions between social actors, this study is limited to examining selected individual and social structural factors which would appear to condition marital roles.

2.1.2. Role expectations and enactments

Role theory has been further elaborated through analytically distinguishing between role as expectations and role as enacted behaviours. Role expectations refer to the cognitive conceptions of the "rights and privileges, the duties and obligations, of any occupant of a social position in relation to persons occupying other positions in the social structure" (Sarbin and Allen, 1968:497). Role expectations indicate the opinions of social actors regarding how the occupants of particular social positions ought to act. Role enactment denotes the bahavioural dimension of a role. Role enactment entails a focus upon "overt social conduct" (Sarbin and Allen, 1968:490). The emphasis is placed upon what an individual does, the actual rather than the conceptual. The measures included in the data sets deal primarily with marital role enactments. Only limited attention, therefore, is given to role

expectations.

2.1.3. Role enactment and the family

Applying role concepts to the nuclear family, four typical positions are apparent: the wife/mother, husband/father, daughter/sister, and son/brother. Nye (1976) delineates eight roles entailed in the spouse/parent positions: provider, housekeeper, child care, child socialization, sexual, recreational, therapeutic, and kinship. A goal of Nye's research was: "...to determine to what extent spouses feel that roles should be shared and to what extent they are in practice shared -- both between spouses and between the family and other organizations" (Nye, 1976:13). He posits that the female provider, the recreational and the therapeutic roles are crystalizing among contemporary couples, while there is a "decrystalizing" of the kinship and housekeeper roles. [1]

This study considers how the provider and housekeeper roles are shared by husbands and wives. Nye (1976:81) describes these roles as follows:

> The provider and housekeeper are among the well-established traditional family roles. In the provider role, goods and services needed by the family are produced or are obtained by an exchange of goods and services. The housekeeper role takes the goods and prepares them and maintains them for family use, including such cleaning or repair activity as may be required for

[1]The process of role decrystalization refers to "the degree to which role responsibilities which were formerly required of a position occupant are currently no more than preferred or optional behavior." Nye (1976:13-14).

> their efficient use or conducive to the pleasure and comfort of family members. Thus, the two roles, besides having in common that they are traditional to the family, are complementary in an unusual sense that they usually involve the same goods at different points in their preparation and utilization by family members.

Nye (1976) studied marital role sharing in a sample of two-parent households, each having a child in grade three, drawn from the county of Yakima in Washington state in 1970. He and his associates found the traditional pattern to predominate with the husband expected to be the sole provider by 37% of the wives and 56% of the husbands. A significant proportion, however, were of the opinion that the provider role should be shared -- 62% of the wives, and 43% of the husbands. In actuality, 44% of the wives reported some income, indicating they were employed. [1] At that time, then, although the traditional allocation of the provider role predominated, a significant proportion advocated the sharing of the provider role, or in fact shared this role.

With regard to the housekeeping role, 55% of the wives and 70% of the husbands agreed that housekeeping tasks should be shared, though wives were generally expected to take greater responsibility. Nye (1976:91) concluded, "...only a minority of either sex view housekeeping as solely the responsibility of the wife" (42% of the wives and 25% of the husbands).

---

[1] Nye does not indicate any discrepancy between the reports of sharing the provider role and reports of wives being employed. As will be reported later, the Alberta samples indicate a discrepancy between responses regarding sharing the provider role and reports of wives being employed full-time. This discrepancy is likely due to the Alberta samples not including part-time employment.

Overall, 40% of the husbands and 51% of the wives reported that the wives were the sole enactors of this role. In households in which only the husband earned income, the wife was the sole housekeeper in 59% of the cases, contrasted to 35% in which the provider role was shared. In this foundational research study, while the traditional allocation of roles by sex predominates, some degree of role sharing is evident for a significant proportion of couples.

2.2. TRENDS IN MARITAL ROLE ALLOCATION

In North America, attitudes toward shared provider and housekeeping roles became more positive into the 70's (Boyd, 1974; Brown, 1978; Gibbons et al., 1978). A considerable "culture lag," however, has existed between social attitudes and actual behaviours. Although married women have increasingly entered the labour force, there has been widespread ambivalence regarding the appropriateness of this behaviour, particularly for mothers with younger children (Boyd, 1974). Many continue to view labour force participation by wives as supplementary to the family income rather than an essential element of the provider role. With regard to the sharing of household duties by husbands, actual behaviour had not "caught up" with social attitudes (Meissner et al., 1975). Even today, the entrance of women into marketwork has not been matched by a similar degree of participation by males in housework. A gap exists between what husbands think they ought to do and what they actually do (cf. Nye, 1976; Araji, 1977).

2.2.1. Value perspectives

Research on marital roles has been interpreted from a number of divergent value perspectives. Pleck (1979) noted three such interpretations which seek to make sense of current patterns: the traditional, exploitation and changing roles perspectives.

The traditional perspective views the allocation of the breadwinner role to males and the housekeeper role to females as a preferred pattern. Parsons and Bales (1955) tended to justify such a traditional division of labour on the basis that small groups of any type must differentiate instrumental and expressive roles in order to meet the functional requirements of social systems. The exchange viewpoint also contains some assumptions of this traditional approach, particularly when male labour force participation is viewed as being reciprocated by female household involvement (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Scanzoni,1970).

The exploitation perspective views the traditional patterns as discriminatory toward women, based upon an ideology of male superiority which blocks women from movement within the social opportunity structure (Smith, 1975). A number of time-use studies, for instance, indicate that when wives are employed, husbands increase their proportionate share of the housekeeping tasks, but since the total amount of housework decreases, the number of hours husbands devote to housework does not actually alter appreciably

(Berheide et al., 1976; Meissner et al., 1975; Robinson, 1977; Walker and Wood, 1976). Similar findings have been found in European and other samples (Michel, 1969; Lamouse, 1969). Thus for working wives, the total hours of work inside and outside the home tends to be greater than that of husbands. The exploitation perspective, then, views the division of labour by sex as undesirable, and calls into question whether in fact family roles are adjusting in the direction of equitable exchange (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984).

The changing roles perspective holds that a slow but steady movement toward the equal sharing of marital roles has occurred (Young and Willmott, 1973). This perspective assumes that changed roles are possible, and that the family field should give increased attention to strategies and social policies which might enhance equal roles. Pleck (1979) offered evidence in support of this approach, citing a national U.S. sample in which husbands of employed wives performed more hours of housework than the husbands of unemployed wives. These findings contradict and therefore may call into question the exploitation approach. Data in the three Alberta communities may shed some light on the adequacy of the above general approaches.

2.2.2. Historical developments

The assumption that marital roles have been changing toward a symmetrical division of labour is widespread. Young and Willmott (1973) depict a "slow

march" in the evolution of family types toward the "symmetrical family" through three historical stages. The preindustrial family was a unit of production in which men, women and children worked together in the home and the fields. In the early industrial period, production became centered in factories, effectively separating the domains of "work" and "home," which had the effect of increasing the dependency of women and children on the labour force involvement of men. The symmetrical family has emerged in mature industrialized economies. Primarily a unit of consumption rather than production, the nuclear family tends to be highly privatized around the home, is relatively isolated from extended kin, and exhibits marital roles which are less segregated. Young and Willmott also identify an emerging family type in which time spent at work is much more flexible, blurring the boundary between work and the home, and in which increased attention is given to leisure activities.

A similar evolutionary pattern is outlined by John Scanzoni (1972; Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976) according to which four "ideal types" of marital structure are described: wife as property; wife as complement; wife as junior partner; and wife as equal partner. [1] These types are linked by an increasingly equal balance of rights and duties in both the instrumental and expressive domains. The ultimate development is the equal partner type in which husband and wife share the breadwinner and household roles, and have similar expressive rights and duties. The entrance of the wife into the labour force is a key factor in the transition from the head-complement,

[1] Scanzoni's typology is based upon authority relationships while Young and Willmott give primary emphasis to the marital division of labour.

to the junior partner, to equal partner types. Scanzoni (1980) found this classification to have empirical validity.

Much of the literature on "dual career" marriage assumes that symmetrical role allocation is the emerging model for modern marriages (Holmstrom, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975, 1978; Wachowich, 1979). Few couples are "dual career" in the sense that both husband and wife pursue full-time, high status professional careers. Whether "dual career" or "dual earner," relatively few couples achieve symmetry in the sharing of the provider and housekeeper roles. The notion that women's state is improving simply with the entry of married women into the labour force obscures the reality that a high degree of sex-segregation and dependency continues to prevail (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984).

The pioneering study by Blood and Wolfe (1960) found that role allocation on the basis of sex predominated in both the urban and rural sectors of their Michigan sample. A decade or so later, Nye (1976) found this traditional pattern still to predominate, with 93% of husbands viewing themselves as the sole or main provider, and 97% of wives viewing themselves as the sole or main housekeeper.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the persistence of traditional role patterns are the time budget studies conducted in Canada (Meissner et al., 1975; Clark and Harvey, 1976) and in an array of American and international studies (Robinson, 1971; Szalai, 1972; Vanek, 1974; Berheide et al., 1976;

Walker and Wood, 1976; Robinson, 1976). These studies found not only that wives predominated in household tasks, but that in dual earner households the total hours of work (housework plus labour force work) increases substantially for wives and only marginally for husbands. Sharing the provider role tends to create a double burden for women, who continue to carry major responsibility for domestic tasks as well.

While no comprehensive study of marital roles had been made in Canada into the early 80's, the general conclusion of a large number of separate studies[1] is that while attitudes generally favour marital role sharing, in actual behaviour the sharing of household responsibilities lags markedly behind sharing the provider role (Larson, 1976; Cook, 1976; Nett, 1978, 1979). An array of studies also indicate that males and females differ in their sex-role attitudes, with females more likely to hold egalitarian ideals than do males (Albrecht et al., 1979).

On the basis of the above studies, several predictions are offered regarding marital role allocation patterns likely to be found among Alberta couples: [2]

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[1] Relevant Canadian research on this topic includes: Seeley, Simm and Loosley 1956; Garigue, 1956; Elkin, 1964; Westley and Epstein, 1969; Meissner et al., 1975; Clark and Harvey, 1976; Kohl, 1976; Eichler, 1975; Pool, 1978; Wachowich, 1979; Lupri, 1983; Lupri and Mills, 1987.

[2] In these propositions, "marital role enactment" includes both the provider and domestic roles, and is used interchangeably with the phrase, "sharing marital roles." In general, the sharing of the provider role is positively associated with sharing the domestic role, and the sharing of these marital roles is conceptualized in these propositions as a continuous variable. Factors which are associated with sharing the provider role are often also associated with sharing the domestic role. Given that sharing the provider role, however, does not necessarily result in sharing the domestic role, and that identification of factors predictive of domestic role sharing has taken on greater research interest, these two roles are distinguished when the

1. Patterns of marital role enactment in Alberta at the time of the surveys will indicate a shift toward greater role sharing when compared with prior North American studies.

2. The sharing of marital roles, however, will tend to be asymmetrical rather than fully equal.

3. The proportion of wives sharing the provider role will be greater than the proportion of husbands sharing the housekeeping role.

4. Attitudes toward the employment of wives will tend to be more favourable than toward the employment of mothers.

5. Husbands will tend to be more conservative in their sex-role attitudes than wives.

These propositions are most consistent with the changing roles perspective noted above. They also express aspects of the exploitation approach which give emphasis to the reality that fully equal sharing of the provider and domestic roles has yet to be achieved.

The next section considers some of the contingencies which influence shared marital roles.

2.3. EXPLANATIONS OF MARITAL ROLE ALLOCATION

Given that recent decades have witnessed change toward greater marital role sharing, this study seeks to explore the underlying causes of this change. The identification of factors associated with role sharing contributes to explaining these changing attitudes and behaviours. Sociological research

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[9](cont'd) findings are reported.

proposes a number of theoretical explanations of marital role change. For the purposes of this study, these theories are organized into three general arguments advanced to explain marital role allocation: normative-reference group approaches, economic-resource approaches, and a subjective-utility approach (Scanzoni, 1972; Rallings and Nye, 1979; Condran and Bode, 1982). Each of these approaches is reviewed briefly, and propositions drawn from the literature review.

2.3.1. Normative-reference group theory

The normative-reference group perspective argues that patterns of marital role allocation are learned through socialization. Role allocation is essentially a function of the society's normative system. These norms are set within the culture or subculture in which the couple is embedded. The norms are transmitted and maintained through the socialization and sanctioning systems of a reference group.[1] The family and kinship networks are key reference groups through which marital roles are learned. Other sets of social relationships might also function as agents through which the normative patterns are transmitted and reinforced. For instance, educational level and socio-economic position entail shared sets of norms which affect behavioural aspirations. Ethnic and religious subcultures may also function

[1] Shibutani (1954) notes three meanings of the term "reference group": 1. groups which serve as comparison points; 2. groups to which persons aspire; and 3. groups whose perspectives are assumed by an actor. The term is used here in the third sense, that is, "any collectivity, real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the actor" (in Haas and Shaffir, 1978:121).

as influencial reference groups regarding marital role expectations. A change of reference group, educational level, or social status may bring about altered marital role conceptions and behaviours.

Among British urban families, Bott (1957, 1971) found marital role allocation to be associated with the density of kinship network associations. Couples embedded in close-knit kinship networks tended to adopt a "segregated conjugal role organization;" while loose-knit network involvement tended to be associated with "joint conjugal role organization." Migration from inner city London communities to new suburbs uprooted couples from their close-knit kinship network. This withdrawal from an extended family support system resulted in spouses relying more upon each other, bringing about a more joint conjugal role pattern. These couples adapted to the normative standards typical of the more upwardly mobile and middle class suburban communities to which they had moved. Similar findings were identified in the surveys of Young and Willmott (1957, 1973).

Network theory has also been explored in North American studies. Gans (1962) found Italian immigrants who migrated to the new town of Levittown to exhibit greater role sharing than non-migrants. Udry and Hall (1965), however, found role segregation to be unrelated to kinship network density. Rather, joint conjugal patterns were found among couples in which the wife had a high level of education and worked outside the home. Aldous and Straus (1966) also found conjugal roles to be unrelated to kinship involvements. They suggest that the hypothesized pattern between

kinship networks and marital roles may occur in extreme cases of close-knit and loose-knit networks. They further suggest, however, that segregated marital roles may be associated with participation in sex-segregated social groups which tend to perpetuate stereotyped marital roles. Segregated social interaction is likely to be associated with segregated marital roles, and joint social interaction with shared marital roles. Nelson (1966) found traditional marital roles to be more prevalent among women involved in same-sex cliques. Fallding (1961) is also critical of Bott's general thesis, suggesting that it is not kinship associations but sex-segregated social interaction which is linked with segmented marital roles.

In the second edition of her study, Bott (1971:309) adopts reference group theory as a more general explanation to account for the influence of kinship networks and friendship associations on normative marital behaviour. From this more general perspective, marital role behaviour is likely to be a function of the reference groups in which couples are involved, and the norms held by these groups. For instance, in a study of British Columbia housewives, Stephenson (1977) describes the process of "role-making." She reports how wives who participated in a women's consciousness-raising group, redefined their marital relationships. Participation in this new reference group resulted in altered role expectations. [1] In the Bott case,

[1] The essential argument of Stephenson is that new roles are constructed through a cumulative process of awareness, discomfort, and a new orientation which culminates in re-negotiating marital roles with one's husband. Of course, the success of this re-negotiation is subject to other conditions--including the reference group associations of the husband and factors related to the marital interaction system.

new sets of norms became operative because of withdrawal from a particular reference group; in the Stephanson case, through being immersed in a particular reference group. Thus marital role enactment can be viewed as a function of the normative-reference group associations of marital partners.

The extent to which kinship networks function as significant reference groups is unclear. While Bott found extended kin involvements to perpetuate traditional marital role allocation, other studies have found these patterns to be perpetuated through same-sex social relationships. Further, some Canadian studies have found that shared marital roles were enabled by the presence of extended kin. Matthews (1976) found that Newfoundland couples who migrated to Hamilton tended to develop shared marital roles when extended kin were also in Hamilton. One explanation of this linkage may be that support with child care by extended family members facilitated the entry of wives into the labour force. In a study of Ottawa Valley women, Pool (1978) also found the support of a kinship network to increase marital power for wives.

Larson et al., (1978) used discriminant analysis procedures to examine the effects of social network associations on value orientations. They suggest that whereas kinship associations tend to reinforce traditional values, and friendship associations emergent values, that value orientation may be a product of the ratio of kin to friend associations: "...high friend-low kin involvement would seem indicative of emergent values, the inverse, of

traditional values" (p.. 6). They also found that the greatest social involvement (high kin and high friend visiting) was associated with emergent values. These findings add a unique perspective to the manner in which social networks might function as reference groups influencing shared marital roles. Assuming that shared marital roles reflect emergent values, two propositions based upon these findings are examined:

6. The number of social contacts is positively associated with shared marital roles.

7. The ratio of friend/kinship contacts is positively associated with shared marital roles (that is, high friend/low kin contact is positively related to shared roles).

Other reference groups may also influence and reinforce marital roles. Farkas (1976) found marital roles to vary with the educational level of couples, with those with higher education favouring equal roles. Eriksen et al., (1979) found both wives' employment and shared housekeeping to be positively affected by wife's education, and by involvement in a local kinship network. Other studies have found marital role sharing to be more prevalent among younger couples, age cohort operating as a significant reference group (Mason et al., 1976; Albrecht et al., 1979; Thornton and Freedman, 1979).

8. Educational attainment is positively associated with shared marital role enactment.

9. Age cohort is inversely associated with shared marital role enactment (younger aged couples showing greater role sharing).

In their review of wife-mother employment, Rallings and Nye (1979:208)

observe that:

> Ethnic groups, community groups, religious groups and others serve as reference groups. These groups may reflect the general societal attitude -- ranging from strong disapproval to strong approval of women's employment. By providing an evaluative standard for women with regard to employment, reference groups affect women's ultimate decision to work or not to work (Erskine, 1971).

Religious affiliation and participation may also indicate contact with religious groups which influence marital roles. Kosa et al. (1962) found Catholic college women, influenced by their religious commitments, to place greater value on being mothers than pursuing careers. Greater religiosity tended to reinforce this pattern of relationships. Burr et al. (1977) also found the religious factor to affect marital role choices. In a sample of Mormon students, the "normative" dimension was found to have greater influence than "resources" (education and occupation) on marital decision making. In contrast, Slocum and Nye (1976:97) found:

> Religious preference is unrelated to either the norm of role-sharing or enactment of the housekeeper role, but religious participation is related to both. Both men and women who never attend church are more likely to adhere to the norm of role segregation--that is, complete responsibility lodged in the wife. Among men, the relationship is linear, with the proportion adhering to the norm of a shared role increasing with frequency of attendance, but for wives, it is only those who never participate that appear to be more likely to adhere to the norm of a segregated housekeeper role.

On the basis of these findings, religious participation can be expected to be associated with greater marital role sharing. The influence of religious involvement, however, may also be affected by the type of religious group,

with involvement in more conservative groups (such as Catholic or Mormon) tending to be associated with less role sharing.

10. Religious participation is positively related to shared marital role enactment.

11. Religious liberalism is positively associated with shared marital role enactment.

12. The interaction of religious involvement and conservatism is inversely associated with shared marital role enactment.

One's gender can also be considered a "reference group." Gender socialization shapes values, normative expectations and perceptions. Larson (1974) found significant differences in the perceptions of marital and family behaviour by persons occupying various roles in the family system. A growing body of research literature indicates that the sex of the respondent is associated with both attitudes and the reporting of actual marital role behaviour (Heer, 1962; Ballweg, 1969; Turk and Bell, 1972; Berk and Berk, 1979; Condran and Bode (1982) found perceptions of the family division of labour to be conditioned by the sex of the respondent. Husbands were found to overestimate their performance of household tasks when compared to the responses of wives. These and other findings suggest the necessity of assessing the differential perceptions of men and women when dealing with self-report measures of marital behaviour. The expectation, following from the findings of Condron and Bode is that respondents will tend to report in the direction of social desirability. To the extent that the sharing of marital roles is a socially desirable norm, women can be expected to claim greater sharing of the provider role, and men greater sharing of the

domestic role.

13. Gender of respondent is associated with reports of marital role enactment, in that wives will tend to report greater provider role sharing than husbands report, while husbands will tend to report greater sharing of the housekeeping role than wives report.

2.3.2. Economic-resource theory

Economic-resource theory argues that role allocation derives from the relative distribution of resources between husband and wife. The possession of valued resources, such as income, education and prestige, are sources of power within the marital interaction system. The partner with the greater relative resources is able to affect the allocation of less prestigious tasks to the other partner (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Rallings and Nye, 1979).

Resources are gleaned primarily through transactions with the external social system. A major source of marital power in contemporary societies is earnings from employment. The full-time labour force involvement by a husband, for instance, gives him access to financial resources which contribute to his marital power. Conversely, when freed from the necessity of taking paid employment, a wife/mother has the resource of time which can be allocated to housekeeping and childcare. This division of labour is often justified on the basis of efficiency in the allocation of tasks. Given that wage rates tend to be higher for males, full-time employment by the husband would be the most rational economic use of the productive labour

capacities of the marital unit. If a wife has or develops marketable skills, her labour force involvement and the sharing of or purchase of household labour would also be rational economic utilization. The economic theory of family relations assumes that the marital division of labour is based upon rational estimates by the couple of their optimum economic efficiency, and upon optional behaviour in the achievement of life goals (Cutwright, 1970, 1971a, 1971b; Becker, 1973, 1974a, 1974b).

From the economic-resource theory perspective, the key determinant of marital role allocation is income derived from access to the economic resources of the society. A woman's participation in the labour force provides resources which enhance her power to affect change in the allocation of marital roles. Scanzoni (1970) suggests that female employment is the essential mechanism through which marital role change occurs. Many studies have consistently found positive associations between wife's employment and the sharing of household tasks (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, Lamouse, 1969; Blood, 1976; Michel, 1969; Scanzoni, 1980).

Farkas (1976) found the relative wages of employed husbands and wives to be a significant predictor of marital roles. Eriksen et al. (1979) found lower husband's income associated with wife's employment; and shared household duties. Each of the above studies also found family composition to affect marital roles. Having preschool children tended to inhibit employment by wives. Other studies have found family size to be related to marital role patterns. Richmond (1976) found husbands of employed women to be of

greater assistance in housekeeping when there were fewer children in the family. Mason et al. (1976) found larger family size to be associated with more traditional sex-role attitudes. Greater family demands can therefore be expected to negatively affect the sharing of marital roles.

As the Alberta data include information regarding the labour force status of females, individual and total family income, and family composition, a number of propositions related to the economic-resource approach may be tested.

14. Wife's labour force involvement is positively associated with shared marital roles.[1]

15. Husband's income is inversely associated with shared marital roles; wife's income is positively associated with shared marital roles.

16. The presence of preschool children in the household is inversely associated with shared marital roles.

17. Family size is inversely associated with shared marital role enactment (the larger the family size, the less the role sharing).

[1] Separate indicators are used to measure "wife's labour force involvement" and "sharing the provider role." While the concepts measured by these indicators are very similar, the findings indicate that they are not identical. As discussed later in the dissertation, "sharing the provider role" would appear to have attitudinal connotations in addition to a behavioural referent. Also, the indicator, "wife's labour force involvement" includes only full-time employment, therefore excludes likely associations between wife's part-time employment and reports of sharing the provider role. Gender bias may also be a factor affecting these measures, as responses are only available from either a husband or a wife in each household.

2.3.3. Subjective-utility theory

While the normative-reference group and economic-resource approaches focus upon relatively objective factors such as education, female employment, income and family structure, it is unlikely that marital role allocation can be accounted for adequately by such factors alone. Scanzoni (1978) suggests that an adequate explanation of marital role patterns must also deal with subjective and interaction factors at the micro-sociological level. Scanzoni's subjective-utility theory seeks to explain marital role patterns on the basis of the specific intentions and desires of marriage partners. Family size, wife's employment and shared housekeeping roles are chosen by individuals and couples on the basis of explicit role preferences.

This approach highlights the sex-role preferences of married persons as primary factors influencing marital role enactment. For instance, in a sample of Cuban couples in Florida, Richmond (1976) found marital roles to be affected by the joint effects of resources and equalitarian attitudes: "...the wife's resources seemed to operate most effectively to enable her to make decisions when the husband's resources were not higher and the respondent also subscribed to norms that supported more equalitarian interaction" (p. 263). Role allocation was associated with both the ratio of the spouses' resources, and their attitudes toward role sharing, particularly that of the husband. Rodman (1982) also concluded that the effect of resources on marital role allocation was influenced by the sex-role ideology of the

culture.

A central expectation of this approach is that marital roles are a function of the sex-role preferences of social actors. The Alberta data have no explicit measures of marital role preferences. However, they include attitudinal indicators regarding the labour force involvements of wives and of mothers. These indicators may provide some indication of the role sharing intentions of couples.

Factors such as age, education, and employment status also affect attitudes toward marital roles. The intent of this study is not to assess factors which affect sex-role attitudes, but rather to explore the effect of sex-role attitudes on enactments. The subjective-utility approach assumes that attitudes not only shape behaviour, but in fact may constitute an essential intervening role, if not a major determining role. The association of sex-role attitudes with marital role behaviour is examined with the proposition:

18. Egalitarian sex-role attitudes are positively associated with marital role sharing.

In summary, in this section, three theoretical perspectives which might explain marital role enactments have been discussed: normative-reference group theory, economic-resource theory, and subjective-utility theory. It is proposed that greater prediction of shared marital roles is possible by combining these three approaches. Propositions based upon these theories have been proposed to facilitate this investigation.

2.4. THE RESOURCE COMMUNITY AND MARITAL ROLES

The 1960's and 1970's were a period of economic expansion in Alberta based primarily upon petroleum exploration and development. Assessing the the social impact of resource development is a critical area of research (Bowles, 1979). One of the effects of resource development is the rapid growth of residential communities. These communities are often characterized by considerable social disruption due to rapid population growth and mobility. In this section, consideration is given to factors in resource communities which might affect the sharing of marital roles.

Only limited information is available regarding marital roles in frontier extraction industry communities (Brody, 1970; Riffel, 1975; Larson, 1977). Studies of Canadian single industry towns indicate that marital roles are relatively segregated (Institute of Local Government, 1953; Robinson, 1962; Lucas, 1971; Luxton, 1980). A primary impediment to marital role sharing in resource communities is limited employment opportunities for women. Other factors which might affect the allocation of marital roles include the characteristics of migrants to resource towns, the stresses encountered in such moves, and the social conditions in these communities.

Ft. McMurray has grown rapidly due to resource extraction and processing. It exhibits many of the social characteristics of resource communities (Matthiasson, 1970; Matthiason and Kerri, 1971; Van Dyke and Loberg, 1978; Hobart, Walsh and Associates, 1979). The majority of the population

experienced geographical uprooting and resettlement within a short time prior to the survey.

Migration induces considerable stress for families (Ammons, et al., 1980; Voyanoff, 1980; Jones, 1973). Giving up friends, separation from relatives, adjusting to new schools and community facilities, and the possible loss or change of employment by wives, are among the stressor events which affect family life. In Ft. McMurray, these typical experiences may be accompanied by specific stressors such as limited and costly housing, inadequate community services, lack of daycare facilities, geographical isolation and extreme weather conditions.

Stressful life events such as moving, change of jobs and adjustment to a new community affect marital and family organization. Research on the effects of stress on the family indicate that there is a typical process of disorganization, the the marshalling of family resources and coping strategies, and eventually a movement toward the re-establishment of stable relationships (cf. Hansen and Hill, 1964; McCubbin et al., 1980; Hansen and Johnson, 1979). An array of findings indicate that residency in remote single industry towns is particularly stressful for women (Lucas, 1971; Kohrs, 1974, Albrecht, 1978), though this has been challenged by Nickels and Ledger (1976).

The rapid population growth and recent migration to Ft. McMurray by most residents would suggest that many families are experiencing disorganization.

A symptom of this family disruption may be the segregated role patterns which typify marital relationships in resource communities. In the sections that follow, research is reviewed on a number of stress-producing factors which may affect the marital roles of couples living in Ft. McMurray: tasks associated with the child-rearing stage of the family life cycle; wife powerlessness and alienation; disruption of female employment continuity; demanding work involvements of husbands; and dissatisfaction with community services. Each of these stress producing factors which may be associated with migration to a new town, and which may affect marital roles, is explored below.

2.4.1. Child-rearing stage of the family life cycle

Migration is a selective process by which individuals with particular characteristics are more likely to move than others (Richmond, 1969). Northern communities are often thought to attract social misfits, adventure seekers and drifters. In spite of these common sense expectations, studies of migrants to northern Canadian communities have found them to differ from the general population in only some characteristics. Jackson and Pouchinsky (1971) found that migrants to northern Ontario mining towns were somewhat younger than the average population of the province as a whole, more likely to be married, drawn from a wide diversity of ethnic groups, born in Canada though not typically in Ontario, and of rural farm backgrounds. The northern migrants were no more mobile than the general

population, though they were more likely to have moved inter-provincially; nor were the northern residents found to be more alienated from society than southern residents.

The survey in Ft. McMurray was conducted when a second oil sands extraction plant had just been constructed and production was commencing. The town was entering a relatively stable period of development in which younger families are common (Riffel, 1975). The high technology required for such resource extraction industries also draws a relatively well educated set of managers, engineers and skilled technicians, as well as semi-skilled workers. While such younger, relatively well-educated couples are likely to have progressive attitudes toward shared marital roles, they are also likely to be at the child-bearing and rearing stage of the marital/family life cycle. The presence of young children in the family tends to restrict women from entering the labour force. If child care services are not available either from extended kin or from day care, complementary rather than equalitarian marital roles are likely to predominate. This combination of relatively highly educated persons, along with child-rearing pressures, may in fact contribute to considerable dissatisfaction among those females with shared role aspirations.

19. Migrants to Ft. McMurray are likely to be in the child-rearing stage of the family life cycle, which will be associated with less marital role sharing.

20. Migration is negatively associated with marital role sharing.

21. The greater the number of stress events, the less marital role sharing.

2.4.2. Female powerlessness

Migration may be particularly detrimental to the situation of wives (Jones, 1973; Matthews, 1976). Drawing from the experience of Newfoundland women who migrated to Hamilton, Ontario, Martin-Matthews found some evidence that migration may create a situation of female powerlessness. Some women had little or no choice in the decision to move. They experienced considerable dissatisfaction with the change to a new community. Such a condition of powerlessness is likely to indicate little input into the decision-making process, and thus little role sharing. The disruption experienced in migration might in fact give rise to male-dominated authority relationships and an absence of role sharing.

These observations, contrary to the findings of Bott (1971), imply that being uprooted from kin and friend support systems may reduce the marital power of wives and reinforce stereotyped sex roles. Such powerlessness may be exacerbated if the couple has younger children, and if the new community offers limited job opportunities for women.

22. Participation by wives in the decision to move is positively associated with marital role sharing.

2.4.3. Interrupted female labour force participation

A number of articles report a relationship between migration and the employment status of wives. Duncan and Perrucci (1976:260) note that "among young college graduates, geographical movement is unfavourable to the wife's continued participation in the labour force" and that such mobility "may interfere with the development and achievement of occupational goals among women." These findings reinforce similar conclusions by Long (1974) in which geographical mobility was found to impede the occupational careers of wives. "It would appear...that any geographical movement is unfavorable to the wife's continued participation in the labor force.... and the greater the distance moved the greater the disruption" (Long, 1974:346). Even among couples committed to egalitarianism, actual migration patterns give precedence to the employment opportunities of the husband (Berger et al., 1978). If migration negatively affects female employment, then shared marital role enactment would also be inhibited. The dominant causal sequence predicted is that migration negatively affects female employment status, thus impeding the enactment of shared roles.

Interrupted labour force participation on the part of wives may also be reinforced by the limited job opportunities for women typical of northern resource towns (Lucas, 1971; Riffel, 1975). In single industry towns, Lucas attributes the lack of female job opportunities to the exclusion of females

from most work except office routine, a limited number of such positions, and a high turnover of female office workers due to low wages, marriage and pregnancy. To marry, to go on to higher education, or to pursue a career, many young women are forced to leave the restricted opportunity structure of the smaller town. One study of single-industry towns comments, "the availability of work in non-basic industries is limited. Employment opportunities for wives are often non-existent" (Riffel, 1975:39).

In summary, in this section, it is argued that although the migration of a family to a resource community may increase employment opportunities for husbands, a latent effect of migration may be less sharing of marital roles.

23. In resource communities, limited employment opportunities for women are negatively associated with marital role sharing.

2.4.4. Demanding work involvements by males

Migration occurs due to "push" and "pull" factors. Push factors might include poor employment possibilities, inadequate housing, poor climate and quality of life. Pull factors include economic activity which produces job opportunities, improved housing and other services, and the prospect for improved quality of life. Migration is often related to the perception of these benefits which are expected in the new community (Todaro, 1976).

Migrants to northern resource communities have been motivated to move

largely because of employment possibilities. Jackson and Pouchinsky (1971) found migrants moved to northern mining towns because of better job opportunities, better standard of living, better pace of life, the recommendation of others, recreational facilities, the presence of friends and other quality of life factors. Professionals cited similar reasons, with better job opportunities far outranking other factors. Matthiasson (1971) found residents of Ft. McMurray overwhelmingly cited employment as the primary motivation for moving. The employment demands of construction, start-up and high production industrial operations, however, often involve long work hours and shifts. In Ft. McMurray twelve hour work days were common (Larson, 1977). These working conditions are likely to restrict the availability of, or contribute to the unwillingness of husbands, to take on the household tasks entailed in sharing marital roles (Luxton, 1980).

24. Employment overtime and shiftwork of husbands are negatively associated with shared marital roles.

2.4.5. Inadequate community services

The heavy emphasis upon the productive capacities of the male labour force, in combination with inadequate community facilities, and the isolation of northern communities, may combine to create a situation somewhat detrimental for women. Gans (1967) found many women to experience social isolation, boredom and loneliness in the new urban community of Levittown. Thomas (1978) and Goldstein (1969) comment upon the conditions of new towns for women. They suggest that, in addition to limited

employment opportunities, poor shopping facilities, inadequate transportation services, limited social and childcare services, and absence from extended families, are the sorts of community conditions which may negatively affect the situation of women, and contribute to a social context which does not foster the sharing of marital roles. The rapid growth of Ft. McMurray has resulted in extreme pressure on community services. Accordingly, a high level of dissatisfaction with community services may result, particularly among women (Larson, 1977:131). This dissatisfaction may point to community conditions which are not conducive to the sharing of marital roles.

25. Feelings of powerless and alienation by wives are negatively associated with the sharing of marital roles.

26. Dissatisfaction with community services and conditions is inversely related to shared marital roles. [1]

2.5. SUMMARY

In this chapter, the concept of shared marital roles has been defined. Literature has been reviewed which indicates a trend toward the sharing of marital roles in North America, and the factors which tend to promote these patterns. These factors have been organized around three theoretical perspectives which are often cited to account for such role changes. In the final section of the chapter, the conditions which are typical of frontier, resource extraction communities have been identified, and the likely impact

[1] The survey has no measures of actual community services. Dissatisfaction with community services is an indirect measure of the community services available, as noted in section 2.4.5..

of these conditions on the sharing of marital roles has been outlined. On the basis of the research literature reviewed, propositions have been developed to guide the empirical investigation of the factors associated with marital role patterns in the communities selected for study. Particular emphasis has been given to the effects of rapid population growth and associated social conditions of resource communities on the sharing of marital roles.

While this study is limited to an analysis of the enactment of the provider and housekeeping roles, it seeks to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework to account for marital role patterns. The propositional inventory combines three theoretical approaches which have been forwarded by various researchers to account for the emergence of marital role sharing: normative-reference group theory, which gives emphasis to processes of socialization; economic-resource theory, which centres around notions of social exchange; and subjective-utility theory, which focuses on the goal-oriented intentions of spouses. The empirical testing of propositions based upon these theories will aid in assessing the adequacy of these explanations.

To broaden the focus of analysis, this study posits that role allocation is a function of factors internal and external to the marital system. Family systems theory may be a possible vehicle for integrating a number of mid-range theories. The study draws insight from the application of general systems theory to family sociology (Buckley, 1967; Speer, 1970, Hill, 1971;

Bubolz and Paolucci, 1976; Paolucci, Hall and Axinn, 1977; Kuhn, 1978). The acquisition of resources such as education and employment, in transactions with the larger social system, may be conceptualized as inputs which influence the allocation of marital roles within the family system. Transactions with the external social system affect the role interactions internal to to the family system. Further, the characteristics of the external system may facilitate or hinder access to resources.

A number of concepts and mechanisms derivative from the systems approach to marriage and the family are suggestive for this study. The marital relationship can be conceptualized as a system of roles. The role relationships are defined and maintained by information and energy resources which are gleaned from the surrounding systems: cultural, social and physical.

The marital system maintains boundaries between itself and other systems through rules which govern the information and energy flow between systems. The larger social system or community may be relatively varied or "rich" in information and energy resources, or relatively limited. The marital system, then, will be affected by the complexity of the surrounding system, and by the openness of the marital system to the information and energy resources available in the community (Carisse, 1975).

An open system will allow new information and greater energy into the marital role relationship, and result in an elaboration of roles. Information

is transmitted through such means as educational attainment, and affects attitudes toward male and female roles in marriage and the family. Energy resources may take the form of income provided through employment in the labour force. Thus the marital system is affected by the information and energy present in the social environment, and by the utilization of these resources in the marital system. Greater role sharing can be viewed as a product of the information and energy resources accessed by the marital system, with greater information and energy leading to greater role sharing. General assumptions derivative from this perspective may be summarized as follows:

1. Communities vary in their provision of and accessibility to resources which give family members influence in the family system.
2. Specific resources such as educational attainment and employment affect the allocation of marital roles.
3. The greater the access to and utilization of resources by the wife/mother, the greater the equity of allocation of the marital roles.

This approach assumes that a relationship exists between community conditions external to the family, and internal arrangements within the family. The allocation and enactment of marital roles is affected by transactions with the larger social structure in which the marital unit is embedded. For instance, the movement toward equitable marital roles over time is enhanced by access to employment by females. Females who possess skills and motivations which can articulate with the external

system are able to exert greater influence in the allocation of roles within the family. The allocation of roles in emerging patterns may be attributed to predictable causal factors related to social conditions and acquired attributes of marital partners. If it is the case that conditions in the resource extraction community of Ft. McMurray, in particular, and such frontier situations in general, lack the opportunity for females to acquire and employ such resources, it can be expected that the emergence of shared marital roles is inhibited in such community contexts.

In the next chapter, the research methods used to test the propositions constructed in this chapter are described in detail.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter, the research methods employed in this study are described. In the initial section, the data gathering procedures are outlined. The indicators used for data collection are then defined. In the third section, the analytical, data processing and statistical methods employed are reviewed. In the final section, some of the limitations are discussed which may condition the findings, given the research methods which have been employed.

3.1. SAMPLES AND DATA COLLECTION

Data for this study are drawn from sample surveys conducted in Ft. McMurray, the Cold Lake region, and Edmonton, three communities in Alberta. The research project of the dissertation is based upon a secondary analysis of these data sources. The surveys constitute a comprehensive social impact assessment of resource extraction developments in Alberta, related to oil sand mining and processing. In this section, the characteristics of each sample are briefly described.

3.1.1. Ft. McMurray Sample

A probability sample of households, stratified to represent the six

sub-communities of Ft. McMurray, was interviewed in the spring of 1979. [1] The sample frame consisted of 620 households. The intention of the survey was to interview one adult, aged sixteen or older and not in school, from a minimum of 500 households. In each household, respondents were selected systematically from among the eligible household residents according to a pre-determined selection key, in order to ensure a balance in the sex composition of the sample.

The interview schedule consisted of a 39-page questionnaire of primarily closed-ended items. Questions included information regarding socio-demographic characteristics, geographical mobility, status attainment, quality of employment, formal and informal social participation, quality of housing, marital and family adjustment and quality of health. Also included were questions on marital roles patterned after the items used in Nye (1976). The 432 respondents actually interviewed represented a response rate of 70%. Only the responses of those married or living common law are examined in this dissertation, reducing the sample to 324 cases.

3.1.2. Edmonton Sample

The Edmonton sample included 452 respondents interviewed in 1978 in the Edmonton Area Survey conducted by the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta. The response rate of this survey was 80%. Those

[1] The sub-communities are: Lower Town, Waterways, Beacon Hill, Gregoire Park, Thickwood Heights and Abasand Heights.

interviewed constitute a representative sample of Edmonton residents, based upon households listed in the Edmonton Telephone directory. The sample was stratified according to income in 71 enumeration areas, and cluster samples were chosen proportional to the size of the enumeration areas. Households were selected randomly from each of the clusters. Only persons 18 years or older were interviewed, according to a quota procedure designed to obtain an equal number of male and female respondents. The questionnaire included an array of topics, focusing primarily upon the quality of life, social well-being, and urban values of the respondents. The marital role enactment items noted above were included in the questionnaire. Usable data from 289 married or common law respondents are analysed.

3.1.3. Cold Lake Sample

In October and November 1979, a survey was conducted in the Cold Lake region, employing a questionnaire very similar to that used in Ft. McMurray. This survey is the first of a longitudinal set of studies designed to assess the social impact of resource development. It constitutes a baseline analysis of conditions prior to the implementation of the proposed Esso Resources heavy oil recovery and processing project. The study differentiated eight sub-regions in the development area. The general population sample, selected from residents of Cold Lake, Grand Centre, Bonnyville, the villages of Glendon, Ardmore and Ft. Kent, and the rural

portions of Municipal District 87, is used as the comparison population. Findings from the three special population groups in the Kehewin and Cold Lake Indian Reserves, the Metis Settlements of Fishing Lake and Elizabeth, and the Cold Lake Canadian Forces Base, are not examined due to the unique characteristics of each of these sub-populations.

The general population sample included 967 respondents, systematically selected from the households, with a response rate of 81.5%. As in the Ft. McMurray study, telephone call back interviews found the responses to be reliable. This study is confined to the married portion of the sample. Responses from 607 persons are included in this study. [1]

3.1.4. Sample Characteristics

Selected demographic characteristics of the three samples are described in the following section.

Age and sex composition

The sex distribution of respondents is 59% female in the Cold Lake Region, 56% in Ft. McMurray, and 45% in the Edmonton Area Study (cf. Table 3.1). As indicated in Table 3.2, the age profile of Ft. McMurray is considerably younger than that of the other two communities. Mean age in the Ft.

[1] The number of respondents from the sub-regions are: Cold Lake, 99; Grand Centre, 151; Bonnyville, 124; Villages (Glendon, Ardmore and Ft. Kent), 51; Rural, 187.

Table 3.1 Sex distribution of respondents by community

	Community							
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Sex of respondent	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	355	58.5	181	55.9	130	45.0	666	54.6
Male	252	41.5	143	44.1	159	55.0	554	45.4
Totals	607	100.0	324	100.0	289	100.0	1220	100.0

Table 3.2 Age distribution of respondents by community

	Community							
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Age	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
17 - 19	10	2	5	2	2	1	17	1
20 - 29	143	23	130	40	78	28	351	29
30 - 39	150	25	122	38	71	25	343	29
40 - 49	125	21	48	15	48	17	221	18
50 - 59	83	13	12	4	42	15	137	11
60 and over	95	16	3	1	41	14	139	12
Totals	606	100	320	100	282	100	1208	100
Mean age	42.11		32.50		41.06		39.32	
Median age	39.50		30.97		38.00		35.95	

McMurray sample is 33, compared with 41 in Edmonton and 42 in Cold Lake. In Ft. McMurray, fully 40% of the respondents are aged 20-29 years, with 38% aged 30-39. The Cold Lake sample is somewhat equally distributed among the 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, and over 50 categories, with only 50% aged 39 or younger, compared with 78% in Ft. McMurray. In Edmonton, 54% are aged 39 or younger, with 29% aged 50 or above, the same proportion as in the Cold Lake sample.

With regard to the representativeness of the samples, when compared with the 1976 Census, the Cold Lake region sample does not differ significantly for the more urban portion of the sample (Cold Lake, Grand Centre and Bonnyville). The rural portion of the sample, however, tends to be over represented by older residents, and the sample as a whole slightly over-represented by females (Gartrell et al., 1980b:51). The Ft. McMurray sample is slightly under-represented by males, but is otherwise representative of the labour force composition, marital status, age, length of residence, housing type and household size (Gartrell et al., 1980a:8). The sample drawn in the Edmonton Area Survey is representative of the general population when compared with pertinent census data (Kennedy, 1978).

Educational attainment

Educational attainment appears to vary directly with urbanization (cf. Table 3.3). In Cold Lake, 57% have less than high school, compared with 40% in Ft. McMurray, and 38% in Edmonton. Whereas 17% of Edmonton residents have a university degree, only 10.5% are university graduates in Ft.

Table 3.3 Educational attainment of respondents by community

	Community							
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Educational attainment	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. None	8	1.3	11	3.4	1	0.3	20	1.6
2. Elementary incomplete	38	6.3	3	0.9	4	1.4	45	3.7
3. Elementary complete	13	2.1	4	1.2	10	3.5	27	2.2
4. Jr. High incomplete	91	15.0	21	6.5	20	6.9	132	10.8
5. Jr. High complete	58	9.6	25	7.7	16	5.5	99	8.1
6. High School incomplete	136	22.4	64	19.8	60	20.8	260	21.3
7. High School complete	129	21.3	88	27.2	89	30.8	306	25.1
8. Some college or univ.	86	14.2	74	22.8	39	13.5	199	16.3
9. Bachelor's degree	34	5.6	29	9.0	29	10.0	92	7.6
10. Master's degree	4	0.7	5	1.5	9	3.1	18	1.5
11. Prof. degree or Ph.D	10	1.6	0	0.0	12	4.2	22	1.8
Totals	607	100.0	324	100.0	289	100.0	1220	100.0
Mean educational attainment	6.0		6.6		6.8		6.3	

McMurray, and 8% in Cold Lake. Mean educational attainment in Cold Lake is somewhat less than high school gradution, while in the other communities it approaches high school graduation.

Household size and number of preschool children

As indicated in Table 3.4, average household size is the largest in Ft. McMurray, with a mean of 3.8 persons per household, compared with 3.6 in Cold Lake and 3.3 in Edmonton. As anticipated, the younger-aged population in Ft. McMurray also has the greatest proportion of households with preschool children. Fully 46% of Ft. McMurray households have preschool children, compared with 29% in Cold Lake, and 25% in Edmonton (cf. Table 3.4). The childcare responsibilities of families with preschool children are predicted to be factors which inhibit sharing the provider role.

Religious composition

As indicated in Table 3.5, the largest single religious group in the Cold Lake sample is Roman Catholic (34.6%), followed by the United Church (29.2%). Roman Catholics also constitute the largest group in Ft. McMurray, with slightly fewer United Church affiliates (21.3%). In Edmonton, the United Church group is the largest (23.5%), followed by Roman Catholics (20.8%). Anglicans constitute the third largest group in all three samples, with 11% in Ft. McMurray, 9.3% in Edmonton, and 7.7% in the Cold Lake region. The Edmonton sample has the largest proportion who report no religious affiliation, other or do not respond (23.9%), followed by Ft. McMurray (18.5%). In Cold Lake, only 10.1% report no religion, other or no response.

Table 3.4 Household size by community

	Community							
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Household size	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
2 persons	183	30.1	65	20.1	118	40.8	366	30.0
3 persons	129	31.3	69	21.3	64	22.1	262	21.5
4 persons	145	23.9	104	32.1	46	15.9	295	24.2
5 and over	150	24.7	86	26.5	61	21.2	297	24.3
Totals	607	100.0	324	100.0	289	100.0	1220	100.0
Mean	3.6		3.8		3.3		3.4	
Median	3.4		3.8		2.9		3.5	
Preschool children per household								
None	432	71.2	174	53.7	216	74.7	822	67.4
1 preschooler	104	17.1	102	31.5	54	18.7	260	21.3
2	58	9.6	41	12.7	16	5.5	115	9.4
3	10	1.6	7	2.2	2	0.7	19	1.6
4	2	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.2
5	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
Totals	607	100.0	324	100.0	289	100.0	1220	100.0
Mean	.433		.633		.332		.459	
Median	.203		.431		.169		.377	

Table 3.5 Religious affiliation of respondents by community

	Community							
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Religious affiliation	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alliance	8	1.3	3	1.0	0	0.0	11	0.9
Anglican	48	7.9	36	11.1	27	9.3	111	9.1
Baptist	13	2.1	9	2.8	7	2.4	29	2.4
Greek Orthodox	20	3.3	5	1.5	7	2.4	32	2.6
Jewish	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.1
Lutheran	16	2.6	18	5.5	15	5.2	49	4.0
Mormon	5	0.8	2	0.6	2	0.7	9	0.7
Pentecostal	20	3.3	9	2.8	7	2.4	36	3.0
Presbyterian	10	1.6	6	1.9	10	3.5	26	2.1
Roman Catholic	212	34.6	97	29.9	60	20.8	369	30.2
Salvation Army	1	0.2	3	1.0	1	0.3	5	0.4
Ukrainian Catholic	16	2.6	7	2.1	13	4.5	36	3.0
United Church	177	29.2	69	21.3	68	23.5	314	25.7
None	28	4.6	23	7.1	43	14.9	94	7.7
Other - No response	33	5.5	37	11.4	28	9.7	98	8.0
Totals	607	100.0	324	100.0	289	100.0	1220	100.0

	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Religious conservatism								
Fundamentalist	47	7.8	27	9.0	62	21.8	136	11.4
Conservative	274	45.2	135	44.9	105	36.8	514	43.1
Liberal	225	37.1	115	38.2	68	23.9	408	34.2
None - other	60	9.9	24	8.0	50	17.5	134	11.2
Totals	606	100.0	301	100.0	285	100.0	1192	100.0

When categorized along the conservative-liberal religious spectrum (Table 3.5),[1] the conservative religious orientation predominates in both Cold Lake (45.2%) and Ft. McMurray (44.9%), and is also the largest single category in Edmonton (36.8%). The liberal group constitutes the major remaining segment in Ft. McMurray (38.2%) and Cold Lake (37.1%), with 23.9% in Edmonton. Edmonton has both the largest proportion of Fundamentalists (21.9%) as well as the largest proportion indicating no religion or some other religion (17.5%). Religious pluralism would appear to flourish in the more urban sector.

3.2. OPERATIONAL INDICATORS

Concepts utilized in this study are measured using operationalized indicators derived from questionnaire items. Items were selected which had the same or equivalent questions in all three samples.

3.2.1. Dependent Variables

Three measures of marital role enactment are utilized in this study. They are based upon the measures developed by Nye (1976). The Shared provider role (PROVIDER) is constructed from responses to the question: "Tell me how you and your spouse share the following task(s): Earning the family income." Responses were indicated on a card, using the following

[1] See definition of categories in the next section.

categories: (1) Husband entirely, (2) Husband more, (3) Share equally, (4) Wife more, and (5) Wife entirely. Due to the small number of cases in categories (4) and (5), this variable was recoded into (1) Husband entirely, (2) Husband more, and (3) Share equally, with categories (4) and (5) included in (3).

An indicator of Shared housekeeping role (DOMESTIC) is derived from responses to the question: "Tell me how you and your spouse share the following task(s): Housekeeping -- cooking, cleaning, laundry, etc.?" The above responses were recoded into three categories: (1) Wife entirely, (2) Wife more and (3) Share equally. Thus for both measures, higher scores indicate greater role sharing. [1]

A Marital role sharing index (EQUAL) was constructed by summing the values of the above two indicators, yielding values ranging from (2) Traditional to (6) Egalitarian role allocation. Initially, it was intended to use this combined index as the prime indicator of the dependent variable. The use of this index was abandoned, however, when distinct relationships were found between predictor variables and the provider and housekeeping measures.

[1] There were a few cases in which the wife was the only or primary breadwinner, or the husband the only of primary housekeeper. These cases were recoded into the "share equally" category due to the few numbers.

3.2.2. Predictor Variables

Sixteen predictor variables were selected for critical analysis. The selection of variables was based upon those which were equivalent in all three samples, and had been identified in the research literature as associated with marital role sharing. Correlational and multivariate associations were calculated to assess the covariation of each of the variables with the dependent variables.

Locale (LOCALE). While each sample contained a number of sub-samples for distinct neighbourhoods or enumeration areas, these subsamples were collapsed into the three primary samples examined: Cold Lake Region (1), Ft. McMurray (2), and Edmonton (3).

Three indicators were used to measure social contacts. Contact with neighbours (NEIGHBOUR) is measured with the question: "How often do you get together with these neighbours (adults in this neighbourhood which you would know by name if you met them in the street) just for a chat?" Contact with kin (KIN) used the question: "How often do you get together with relatives?" Contact with friends (FRIENDS) is derived from the question: "How often do you get together with your friends, either in your home or their home?"

Responses to each of these questions were recoded for each of the samples: (1) Never, (2) Less than once a month, (3) 1-3 times a month (4)

1-3 times a week (5) Daily or almost daily. A composite index of Social contacts (SOCIAL) summed the scores of these three indicators to derive a variable with values which varied from (3) Very infrequent to (15) Very frequent.

Gender of respondent was coded (0) Female (1) Male.

Educational attainment (REDUC) was derived from a self-report question which was recoded into the following categories: (1) None, (2) Elementary incomplete, (3) Elementary complete, (4) Junior high incomplete, (5) Junior high complete, (6) High school incomplete, (7) High school complete, (8) Some college or university, (9) Bachelor's degree, (10) Master's degree, (11) Professional degree or doctorate. Data were also sorted by gender into Husband's educational attainment (HEDUC) and Wife's educational attainment (WEDUC).

An index of Religious conservatism (RELCON) was computed from responses to the question: "What is your religious affiliation?" Responses were recoded into four categories: [1] (1) Fundamentalist, (2) Conservative, (3) Liberal, and (4) None. The Fundamentalist category included Alliance, Baptist, Mennonite, Mormon, Pentecostal, and Salvation Army. Conservative grouped Greek Orthodox, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Ukrainian

[1] Categorization was based upon the classification of denominations by Glock and Stark (1965:92) on the basis of their orthodoxy scale. An alternative method, which also employs denominational preferences to construct an orthodoxy scale, is outlined by Brinkerhoff and Mackie (1984) and Mackie and Brinkerhoff (1986). These studies also deal with the Canadian context.

Catholic. Liberal grouped Anglican, United, and those who simply indicated Protestant. Due to the small number of Jewish and Other respondents, these were coded as None. Thus a rough ordinal scale of religious conservatism was constructed from the nominal data of religious affiliation.

An index of Religious participation (RELPART) was constructed by recoding responses regarding frequency of church attendance into four categories: (1) Weekly, (2) Monthly, (3) Some, and (4) None.[1]

An index of Religiosity (RELIGION) was computed by multiplying the religious conservatism and religious involvement scores so that, lower scores indicated greater involvement in more conservative religious groups, and higher scores indicated less involvement in more liberal religious groups. This index varied from (1) to (16).

A measure of Wife's employment status (WEMPLOY) was computed from questionnaire responses. Values assigned are (0) Wife is not employed full-time, and (1) Wife is employed full-time. This bivariate measure was necessitated as the Edmonton Area Survey did not include questions

[1] The Cold Lake and Ft. McMurray instruments employed the same question: How many times did you attend church in the last month? These were easily recoded into the categories noted above. The Edmonton Area Survey, however, measured church attendance with the following categories: (0) Never, (1) Less than once per year, (2) About once per year, (3) Several times per year, (4) About once per month, (5) 2-3 times per month, (6) Nearly every week, (7) Several times per week. These values were recoded so that (0 - 3 = 4) (4 = 3) (5 = 2) and (6 and 7 = 1). Thus the data for Edmonton are not directly comparable to that of the other two samples. In all three samples, however, the degree of religious participation increases as the scores decrease.

concerning part-time employment or the number of hours worked.

From questions on household composition, the number of Preschool children (PRESCH) in a household was computed.

Household size (FAMSIZE) was derived from the question regarding the number of persons in the household. In some cases, this may include some non-family members. Higher values indicate larger household size.

Measures of Sex-role attitudes were taken from opinions regarding wives and mothers working outside the home and couples not having children. Attitude toward women working outside the home (ATWOMWK) is taken from the question: "Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman working outside the home if she has a husband capable of supporting her?" Attitude toward mothers working outside the home (ATMOWK) is measured from responses to the question: "Generally, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of a married woman working outside the home if she has pre-school age children and a husband capable of supporting her?" This question was not part of the Edmonton Area Survey, however. Attitude toward childless couples (ACPNOCH) were responses to the question: "Generally, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of a married couple not bearing or rearing children?" Responses to the above three questions are coded: (1) Strongly disapprove, through (7) Strongly approve. An index of sex-role attitudes (SEXATT) summed the indicators regarding women working and couples remaining childless. Computation of this index was not

possible in the Edmonton sample.

Stressful life events (EVENTS) is described in the Ft. McMurray codebook as follows: "This variable refers to the frequency of stressful life events experienced by the respondent in the last twelve months" (Gartrell, 1979: 114). It was computed by summing the scores on 15 items. Higher scores indicate greater frequency of stressful events. This scale was not used in the Edmonton Area Survey.

Emotional state (EMOTIONS) is an index derived from nine items, with higher scores representing greater emotional stress to the respondent.[1]

A measure of Economic satisfaction (BETTER) consists of responses to the question: Would you say that you (and your family) are better off or worse off or just the same financially as you were a year ago? Scores indicate (1) Better off, (2) Same, (3) Worse off.

Evaluation of services (SERVICES) is a scale summing 16 items assessing various community services and amenities. Higher scores indicate a more positive evaluation. Included in this measure are questions concerning fire protection, health services, shopping, recreation, schools, downtown parking, and street repair. The Edmonton Area Survey did not include this item in 1978.

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[1]The Ft. McMurray questionnaire was found to use 9 items, each with a maximum score of 4, yielding a maximum score on this scale of 36. The Edmonton and Cold Lake regional studies used only 8 items with maximum scores of 5, to yield maximum scale scores of 40.

An Alienation scale (ALIEN) was computed by summing 10 items (cf. VAR 348 to 358 in Ft. McMurray codebook). These items tap attitudes regarding feelings of powerlessness, purpose, and confidence. Lower scores indicate greater alienation. This scale is not included in the 1978 Edmonton Area Survey.

Evaluation of current accommodations (HOME). "This variable refers to the respondent's evaluation of his/her current accommodations," a summation of 10 items (cf. Gartrell, 1979: 114). Higher scores indicate a more positive evaluation. Again, the Edmonton Area Survey does not include this scale.

Information regarding Income was taken from self-report responses. Husband's income (HUSINC), Wife's income (WINC) and Total income (TOTINC) are used in the communities for which data are available. An indicator of the Ratio of husband to wife's income (INCRAT) was computed by adding one to the wife's income and husband's income respectively (in order to avoid eliminating cases with zero income), then dividing the wife's income by the husband's income. For the Edmonton sample, only information for total household income (TOTINC) is available. In order to estimate the income of husbands and wives, the mean value of wife's income in the other two samples was calculated for employed wives. In the Edmonton sample, wife's income (WINC) was then assigned this mean value. For unemployed wives, the value for WINC was set at the mean score of wives in the other two samples who were not employed full-time. Husband's income (HUSINC) was then calculated by deducting

wife's income from total family income.[1]

3.3. ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES

The analysis of data to test the propositions is carried out in three distinct yet related phases: 1). The comparison of marital role patterns in all samples with previous studies, to assess longitudinal trends; 2). The analysis of the relationships between the selected predictor variables and the dependent variables in each sample; and 3). The comparison of marital role enactment patterns among the three samples, giving particular attention to the community factors which may be indicative of stress, particularly in Ft. McMurray.

3.3.1. Trend analysis

In the first phase, Propositions 1 - 5 are tested, by comparing marital role patterns in the three communities with previous findings, particularly those of Nye (1976). Frequency distributions and measures of central tendency of the following variables were also determined: marital role enactment in both the provider and housekeeping roles; an index of shared marital role enactment; attitudes toward wives working and mothers working; and an index of sex-role attitudes. Due to a lack of measurement consistency in

[1] Average total household income in the samples were: Ft. McMurray, $24,695; Edmonton, $20,915; Cold Lake region, $17,093.

earlier studies, only a general comparison was possible, without statistical measurement of significant differences. The intent of this first stage of analysis was to place the cross-sectional description of marital role patterns into a longitudinal context through comparison with earlier studies.

3.3.2. Data analysis

Propositions 6 - 18 were tested in the second phase using all three samples. Zero-order correlations were calculated among the predictor variables and between the predictor and dependent variables with some cross-tabulations constructed to explore relationships as needed. A step-wise multiple regression analysis was made, feeding in the normative-reference group, economic-resource variables, and subjective-utility indicators. Regression coefficients were calculated separately for the provider and the housekeeping roles. On the basis of the regression analyses, a path analytical model was constructed by selecting the predictor factors which indicated a significant pattern of relationships with one another and the dependent variables. This model was then tested for the combined samples, for each community, and separately for husbands and wives.

3.3.3. Comparison of resource and urban communities

Propositons 19 - 26 were then tested. While in phase 1, comparative data on marital roles in the three communities were examined, in this phase factors which may be indicative of stress were then introduced to assess the extent to which differences in patterns of marital roles in the three communities may be due to the migration and the settlement experiences of persons in Ft. McMurray.

The research design was framed in the format of hypothesis testing, but from time to time unanticipated findings were explored which provided fruitful explanations (Rosenberg, 1968).

3.3.4. Analytical limitations

The study faced a number of analytical problems:

1. Measurement error. Although the emphasis upon behavioural indicators, and the use of many standard or tested items has minimized measurement error, undoubtedly an array of typical measurement errors are operative such as the "halo effect," response set, vacant questions and missing data.

2. Multicollinearity. Among the predictor variables selected, a degree of

multicollinearity occurred. Steps were taken to eliminate multicollinearity.

3. Level of measurement. As many of the indicators, including the dependent variables, are at the ordinal level of measurement, caution is exercised in interpreting the correlation and regression findings (O'Brien, 1979).

4. Recursive mode. The general model assumes a recursive regression of the dependent variables as a function of the predictor variables. The allocation of marital roles, however, can be expected to actually feedback on the independent variables.

5. Missing variables. Secondary analysis precludes the inclusion of all possible causal variables. In particular, the absence of pertinent interaction data has likely contributed to a high degree of unexplained variation.

6. Confounding variables. In the comparison of the three samples not all factors are equivalent, therefore many confounding variables remain unaccounted for.

7. Representativeness. While each sample can confidently represent each of the areas studied (within the limits noted), the samples cannot be considered representative of either the Province of Alberta or of the Canadian population. The findings, however, are suggestive of patterns which may characterize the larger society.

In spite of these analytical limitations, the careful sampling and measurement techniques employed in the data gathering have made possible a sound secondary analysis. The research findings should add to our knowledge of marital role enactment not only in the resource community which is the main focus of this study, but also in the context of recent trends, recent theoretical and value perspectives and comparative community conditions.

3.4. SUMMARY

Resource development provides opportunities for status attainment through employment and high income. The central problem addressed in this study is the extent to which these opportunities provide for equity in the role relationships of married couples. The study also provides some insight into the ways in which families adjust to the stresses created by industrial development.

This chapter has reviewed the research methods employed in this study. Using relatively comparable questionnaires, responses were solicited from probability samples of married respondents from three Alberta communities. Correlational and multiple regression analyses were conducted to assess causal relationships within each of the communities with regard to the sharing of marital roles. From the regression analysis, a path analytical model was constructed and tested. In the examination of these analyses,

particular attention is given to the unique conditions existing in Ft. McMurray to add to the assessment of the social impact of resource developments on marital relationships.

The findings are reported in three chapters. Chapter Four compares the patterns of marital role allocation found in the Alberta communities with those found a decade earlier in Washington state by Nye (1976). It also explores the relationship between attitudes and role enactments, and compares the distribution of marital roles among the three communities. Chapter Five analyses the relationship between predictor variables and the sharing of marital roles. Chapter Six reports the possible influence of community context on the sharing of roles, with particular attention to the effects of stressful conditions typical of resource communities on role sharing.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS: TRENDS OF MARITAL ROLE ALLOCATION

In this chapter, findings are reported pertaining to the context of marital roles, placing the findings specific to each community in a broader framework. Three contextual aspects are examined. First, marital role patterns in the Alberta samples are compared with an earlier study to give a trend perspective. Second, findings are reported regarding attitudes toward married women and mothers being employed. Third, patterns of marital role enactment are compared among the three communities in Alberta. Each of these topics is considered in a separate section, and pertinent propositions are tested and discussed. The following propositions are tested in this chapter:

1. Patterns of marital role enactment in Alberta at the time of the surveys will indicate a shift toward greater role sharing when compared with studies prior to that time in North America.

2. The sharing of marital roles, however, will tend to be asymmetrical rather than fully equal.

3. The proportion of wives sharing the provider role will be greater than the proportion of husbands sharing the housekeeping role.

4. Attitudes toward the employment of wives will tend to be more favourable than toward the employment of mothers.

5. Husbands will tend to be more conservative in their sex-role attitudes than wives.

4.1. TRENDS IN MARITAL ROLE ENACTMENTS

To assess trends of change in marital role enactment patterns, the patterns in the three Alberta communities in 1978-79 are compared with those of

Nye (1976), which were gathered in 1970. Nye examined marital role patterns in Yakima County, a medium-sized county in central Washington state. The county includes the urban centre of Yakima, and a rural population. Eleven percent of the county's population lived on farms. The county included some Native and Mexican-Americans, with the vast majority Caucasian. The average educational attainment was similar to that of the state as a whole. Average income was slightly lower than the state average.

A random sample of parents of grade three children was selected from public and private schools. The sample was limited to families in which there were two parents in the household. Questionnaires were prepared for both the husband and wife. The questionnaire included nineteen pages of items regarding social background, conjugal power and recreational preferences, as well as items on marital roles. Data were gathered in the summer of 1970. There was a response rate of 46% from at least one spouse, with 210 usable returns from both the husband and wife in each family.

Table 4.1 presents comparative frequency distributions for the three Alberta samples and the Yakima county sample. This contitutes a comparison of marital roles over approximately a ten year interval. It is evident that there has been a marked behavioural change.

With regard to the provider role, about 43% of respondents in Yakima

Table 4.1 Shared marital roles by community, including Yakima (all households)

	Community									
	1979 Cold Lake		1979 Ft. McMurray		1978 Edmonton		Total Alberta Communities		1970 Yakima*	
Provider role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband only	191	31.9	138	43.1	100	35.6	429	35.8	236	57.4
Husband more	208	34.8	113	35.3	112	39.9	433	36.1	149	36.3
Share equally	199	33.3	69	21.6	69	24.6	337	28.1	26	6.3
Total	598	100.0	320	100.0	281	100.0	1199	100.0	411	100.0

Chi-square (among Alberta communities) 20.56 4 d.f. $p = 0.0004$

Chi-square (between Alberta and Yakima) 72.40 2 d.f. $p < 0.001$

Domestic Role										
Wife only	246	41.1	114	35.8	79	27.6	439	36.5	187	45.5
Wife more	274	45.7	159	50.0	162	56.6	595	49.5	216	52.6
Share equally	79	13.2	45	14.2	45	15.7	169	14.0	8	1.9
Total	599	100.0	318	100.0	286	100.0	1203	100.0	411	100.0

Chi-square (Alberta communities) 15.21 4 d.f. $p = 0.0043$

Chi-square (Alberta and Yakima) 47.86 2 d.f. $p < 0.001$

* Source: Nye, 1976: 155

indicated some or equal sharing, and 57% indicated that the husband was the only provider. In the aggregated Alberta sample, about 36% report the provider role to be performed by the husband only; 36%, husband more; and 28%, share equally. Fully 64% reported some degree of sharing of the provider role, compared with 43% in the earlier Washington study.

These findings indicate about a 20 percentage point increase in sharing the provider role, a statistically significant difference. Over a ten year period, this is a considerable change in social behaviour. In Canada as a whole, the labour force participation rate of married females increased from 36.9% in 1971 to 52% in 1981 (Wargon, 1987), a change of 15 percentage points. Of course, it could be expected that shared provider role patterns would also have changed in Yakima during this period.

Turning attention to the housekeeping role, change is also apparent. The change, however, is not as marked as in the provider role. In 1970, 45.5% of the Yakima respondents reported that housekeeping was solely the responsibilty of the wife. In the aggregated Alberta sample, 36.5% reported that housekeeping is the responsibility of the wife only. While a shift of about 9 percentage points has occurred in this period, the change in the sharing of domestic work has been only half the rate as the change in sharing the provider role. [1]

[1] The Yakima study only sampled families with a grade three child. Thus it consists of families with one or more children. The Alberta samples included couples with no children, as well as those with children. Due to this important difference in the sampling parameters, a separate crosstabulation was calculated including only families with children. The results are reported in Table 4.2. Although the percentage differences

Table 4.2 Shared marital roles by community, including Yakima (for families with children)

	Community									
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Total Alberta Communities		Yakima	
Provider Role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband only	157	36.3	124	48.1	68	40.2	349	41.2	236	57.4
Husband more	152	36.1	86	33.3	77	45.6	315	37.1	149	36.3
Share equally	112	26.6	48	18.6	24	14.2	184	21.7	36	6.3
Total	421	100.0	258	100.0	169	100.0	848	100.0	411	100.0
Domestic role										
Husband only	192	45.6	100	38.9	51	30.0	343	40.5	187	45.5
Husband more	189	44.9	126	49.0	99	58.2	414	48.9	216	52.6
Share equally	40	9.5	31	12.1	20	11.8	91	10.7	8	1.9
Total	421	100.0	257	100.0	170	100.0	848	100.0	411	100.0

These findings test three propositions.

Proposition 1. Patterns of marital role enactment in Alberta at the time of the surveys will indicate a shift toward greater role sharing when compared with prior North American studies. This proposition is supported. Comparing these samples, gathered a decade apart, a shift in marital role enactment patterns is apparent for both the provider and domestic roles.

Proposition 2. The sharing of marital roles, however, will tend to be asymmetrical rather than fully equal. This proposition is accepted. Although a shift in role sharing patterns is apparent, there is little evidence that couples are fully sharing either the provider or the domestic roles. While about 6% indicated equally sharing the provider role in Yakima, 28% report equal sharing in Alberta. For the domestic role, less than 2% reported equal sharing in Yakima in 1970, and 14% in Alberta in 1978-79. Change is in the direction of greater role sharing, but the vast majority continue to indicate asymmetrical marital role patterns.

Proposition 3. The proportion of wives sharing the provider role will be greater than the proportion of husbands sharing the housekeeping role. This proposition is accepted. As reported in Table 4.1, in the Alberta sample a greater proportion of wives are taking on provider responsibilities than the proportion of husbands sharing domestic tasks. About 28% indicate that

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[9](cont'd) between the Alberta communities and Yakima are smaller for those families with children, the differences are still quite marked: 15.4 percentage points for the provider role and 8.8 points for the domestic role.

wives share the provider role equally, while only 14% equally share the domestic role. About 50% of husbands take some responsibility for housekeeping; [1]

A wide range of marital patterns is apparent in Alberta. Although there has been a significant shift away from rigidly traditional roles, only a very small minority of couples is fully sharing the provider and domestic roles. The movement toward marital role sharing reflects the common double standard, which favours males. While about 20% more wives are sharing in providing income, only about 10% more husbands are sharing in housekeeping. Husbands would appear to be benefiting from role sharing to a greater extent than are wives.

Drawing upon exchange theory, the net rewards for participation in marketwork are likely greater than the rewards for particpation in housework. If this is the case, a reduction in the amount of time devoted to housekeeping can be expected, along with increased participation by wives in providing income. While the sharing of domestic work is one dimension of marital role symmetry, perhaps the reduction of the scope of

[1] The values of PROVIDER and DOMESTIC were summed to create a single variable of marital role sharing, EQUAL (cf. Table 4.3) Five types of marital role sharing are distinguished. Traditional roles, in which only husbands enact the provider role and only wives the domestic role, constitute about 20% of the aggregated Alberta sample. Some sharing, in which wives are reported to perform some of the provider function or husbands some of the domestic role, constitutes 23%. Complementary roles are reported by the largest category, 32%, in which there is either some sharing or equal sharing of one of the roles. Much sharing is indicated by 18% of the sample, with both roles either shared equally or shared somewhat. Only about 7% report symmetrical roles, in which the provider and domestic roles are shared equally.

Table 4.3 Shared marital role typology* by community

	Community							
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Marital Role Type	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Traditional	121	20.2	69	21.7	45	16.0	235	19.6
Some sharing	117	19.6	93	29.2	68	24.2	278	23.2
Complementary	201	16.8	87	27.4	96	34.2	384	32.1
Much sharing	117	19.6	44	13.8	53	18.9	214	17.9
Symmetrical	42	7.0	25	7.9	19	6.8	86	7.2
Total	598	100.0	318	100.0	281	100.0	1197	100.0

* typology constructed by summing scores on provider and domestic roles with scores varying from 2 (Traditional) to 6 (Symmetrical).

Chi-square = 18.53 8 d.f. p = 0.0176

the housekeeping role is also a feature of marital life which will be more apparent in the future, the role "decrystalizing" noted by Nye (1976).

These findings would indicate that increased particiption in the paid labour force by women is not being matched by a similar degree of participation by men in domestic work. While increased sharing of the provider role by women has had some influence on patterns of shared housekeeping, this change has not been sufficient to bring about full sharing.

A central tenet of resource theory is that wives gain greater power to influence domestic role allocation when they take on paid employment. This theory only partially explains shifts in male participation in domestic work. Other approaches, such as socialization, exchange and choice, and conflict theories, would appear necessary to account for the discrepancy between sharing the provider and housekeeping roles.

4.2. ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE ROLES

Change in marital role behaviour has been accompanied by significant attitudinal change. Hobart (1981) found significant changes in marital role expectations among students over a ten year period. Attitudes toward female roles have also changed substantially in the U.S. (Mason et al., 1976) and in Canada (Boyd, 1975) in the period under consideration. Marital role expectations, however, vary among dimensions of roles, and differ for males and females. These notions regarding attitudes are investigated in

the next two propositions.

Proposition 4. Attitudes toward the employment of wives will tend to be more favourable than toward the employment of mothers. Findings regarding attitudes toward wives being employed are shown in Table 4.4. Overall, 53.4% approve, with the most favourable attitudes in Ft. McMurray (63%), followed by Cold Lake (53%), and Edmonton (43.4%). About a quarter of the respondents do not approve of wives working. Residents of Cold Lake and Ft. McMurray were also asked whether they approved of mothers with small children working outside the home. These results are presented in Table 4.5. While repondents generally approved of married women being employed, they indicated strong disapproval of women with small children being employed. Fully 77% of the Cold Lake region sample and 67% of the Ft. McMurray residents disapproved of women taking paid employment when there are small children in the family. [1] Respondents are much less favourable toward mothers being employed than toward wives. Undoubtedly attitudes regarding maternal care of children are an important factor affecting the prevalent decline in labour force participation during the peak childrearing years. The expectation stated in Proposition 4 is clearly the case, and also serves as a partial explanation for patterns of marital role

[1] Tables to be presented later will show that having preschool children is one of the major factors inhibiting the sharing of the provider role. Gunderson (1976) reports that labour force participation by married women takes on a bimodal pattern. Younger married women tend to be employed prior to having children, then withdraw from the labour force during a period for childbearing and rearing, and then return to the labour force. Although the effects on their children of mothers being employed are unclear (Hoffman, 1974; Rallings and Nye, 1979), sentiments regarding the importance of the nurturing and protective roles of mothers continue to be strong.

Table 4.4 Attitudes toward married women working by community

	Community							
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Edmonton		Totals	
Attitude	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disapprove	151	25.1	60	19.0	70	24.9	281	23.4
Neutral	132	21.9	57	18.0	89	31.7	278	23.2
Approve	319	53.0	199	63.0	122	43.4	640	53.4
Totals	602	100.0	316	100.0	281	100.0	1199	100.0

Chi-square 27.07 4 d.f. p = 0.0000

Table 4.5 Attitudes toward mothers' employment*

	Community of Residence					
	Cold Lake		Ft. McMurray		Totals	
Attitude	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disapprove	464	77.2	216	67.7	680	73.9
Neutral	63	10.5	45	14.1	108	11.7
Approve	74	12.3	58	18.2	132	14.4
Totals	601	100.0	319	100.0	920	100.0

* Item not included in Edmonton sample.

Chi-square 9.87 2 d.f. p = 0.0072

sharing.

Proposition 5. Husbands will tend to be more conservaive in their sex-role attitudes than wives. The pattern of greater role sharing by wives in the provider functions than husbands in the domestic may be be partially explained by differing attitudes toward role sharing by males and females. Hobart (1981) found female students to be more egalitarian in their sex-role expectations than male students, although greater change occurred among males over the period 1968 to 1977 than among females.

Crosstabulation of sex-role attitudes by sex of respondent is presented in Table 4.6. Women are more favourable toward both wives' being employed and mothers' working outside the home than are men. These findings are based on the aggregate Alberta data and are strongly influenced by the large proportion of the total Alberta sample being drawn from Cold Lake.

In Table 4.7 the relationships between sex of respondent and attitudes are controlled for community. The relationship between the sex of the respondent and attitudes toward wives working in the labour force is significant for the Cold Lake and Edmonton samples, but not for the Ft. McMurray respondents. Attitudes toward mothers working for pay differ between male and female respondents in Cold Lake, but not in Ft. McMurray. [1] As Ft. McMurray residents are younger than residents of the other two communities, attitudinal differences between males and females

[1] Edmonton residents were not asked this question.

Table 4.6 Attitudes toward wives' and mothers' employment, for all Alberta communities, controlled by sex of respondent

	Sex of respondent					
	Females		Males		Total	
Attitude towards wives working	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disapprove	132	20.2	149	27.4	281	23.4
Neutral	159	24.3	119	21.9	278	23.2
Approve	364	55.6	276	50.7	640	53.4
Total	655	100.0	544	100.0	1199	100.0

Chi-square = 8.68 2 d.f. p = 0.0130

Attitude towards mothers working						
Disapprove	372	69.8	308	79.6	680	73.9
Neutral	72	13.5	36	9.3	108	11.7
Approve	89	16.7	43	11.1	132	14.3
Total	533	100.0	387	100.0	920	100.0

Chi-square = 11.65 2 d.f. p = 0.0038

Table 4.7 Attitudes toward wives' and mothers' employment, by sex of respondent and community

Sex-role attitude	Community											
	Cold Lake				Ft. McMurray				Edmonton			
Attitude toward wives working	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disapprove	75	21.2	76	30.6	33	18.8	27	19.3	24	19.2	46	29.5
Neutral	81	22.9	51	20.6	30	17.0	27	19.3	48	38.4	41	26.3
Approve	198	55.9	121	48.8	113	64.2	86	61.4	53	42.4	69	44.2
Total	354	100.0	248	100.0	176	100.0	140	100.0	125	100.0	156	100.0
	p = 0.0308				p = 0.8504				p = 0.0446			

	Cold Lake				Ft. McMurray			
Attitude toward mothers working*	Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disapprove	254	71.8	210	85.0	118	65.9	98	70.0
Neutral	44	12.4	19	7.7	28	15.6	17	12.1
Approve	56	15.8	18	7.3	33	18.4	25	17.9
Total	354	100.0	247	100.0	179	100.0	140	100.0
	p = 0.0005				p = 0.6410			

* Question regarding mothers working was not asked in EAS

are less apparent among younger-aged cohorts. Attitudes toward both married woman's employment and mother employment are also more positive in the younger-aged Ft. McMurray sample. Husbands and wives would appear to differ in their attitudes toward appropriate roles for women, but only in the older-aged cohorts.

4.3. COMPARISON OF COMMUNITIES

Examining the distribution of marital roles by community (cf. Table 4.1), role patterns differ significantly for both the provider and domestic roles. The great majority share the provider role in some way. For the three Alberta communities combined, 28% share this role equally. About 36% are traditional, with husbands assuming the entire responsibility for financial support. For an equal proportion, the husband is the main provider.

Comparing the distribution by communities, a greater proportion of Ft. McMurray husbands are the sole providers (43%) than in either of the other communities (32% in Cold Lake and 36% in Edmonton). In Cold Lake, a greater proportion of couples share this task equally (33%) than in either Ft. McMurray (22%) or Edmonton (25%). Thus the provider role is shared less in Ft. McMurray where attitudes are more favourable, and is shared most in the older-aged, and more rural, Cold Lake region, where attitudes toward sharing are much less favourable. This unusual finding will be examined in more detail in the next chapter.

Turning to the domestic tasks, it is evident that far less role sharing occurs in this domain. For the majority of couples in Ft. McMurray and Cold Lake, wives take primary responsibility for housekeeping, with husbands sharing in some tasks. For less than 15% of couples is there equal sharing. Cold Lake residents are the most traditional with 41% of couples indicating that wives have sole responsibility for housekeeping, followed by Ft. McMurray couples with 36% and then Edmonton with 28%. The anomaly is that Cold Lake has both the greatest proportion sharing the provider role and the greatest proportion with traditional domestic role patterns. Ft. McMurray does appear to be the most traditonal overall with the highest proportions in the most sex-typed categories.

Differences of means were calculated between each of the three communities, and are reported in Table 4.8. Significant differences in means occur for the provider role between Cold Lake and Ft. McMurray, and between Cold Lake and Edmonton, but not between Ft. McMurray and Edmonton. For the domestic role, significant differences are apparent between Cold Lake and Edmonton, but not between Cold Lake and Ft. McMurray, nor between Ft. McMurray and Edmonton. A major goal of this study is to unravel the multivariate factors which account for these differences and similarities.

Summary.

It is apparent that marked changes in marital role behaviour have occurred in the decade between 1970 and 1980. A greater proportion of the Alberta

Table 4.8 Differences of means of marital roles between communities

	Mean of marital role scores					
	Provider role		Domestic role		Combined score	
Community	N	mean	N	mean	N	mean
Cold Lake	598	2.013	599	1.721	598	3.736
Ft. McMurray	320	1.784	318	1.783	318	3.569
Edmonton	281	1.890	286	1.881	281	3.762
	T score	P	T score	P	T score	P
Cold Lake and Fort McMurray	4.15	0.000	-1.31	0.190	2.01	0.044
Cold Lake and Edmonton	2.15	0.032	-3.31	0.001	-0.03	0.761
Fort McMurray and Edmonton	-1.67	0.096	-1.82	0.070	-2.01	0.045

couples are sharing their marital responsibilities in comparison to the Washington state couples surveyed ten years earlier. This is particularly the case for the provider role, and less so for housekeeping. Although there is a trend toward greater sharing, there is considerable diversity in marital role behaviours.

With regard to attitudes toward marital roles, both husband and wives generally favour wives being employed. Wives tend to be more favourable than husbands. Differences between male and female respondents are less marked among those who are younger. There is much less approval for the mothers of small children being employed outside the home than for wives in general. Albertans place a high value on mothers providing nurturant socialization and care for young children, a factor which may be quite influencial in shaping role allocations.

The three communities differ somewhat in both attitudes and behaviours. While Ft. McMurray couples are most favourable toward the sharing of roles, they are actually the most traditional in their behaviours. In contrast, the older-aged and rural Cold Lake residents are less favourable toward sharing the provider role, but are the most symmetrical in actual behaviour. Attitudes toward marital roles are not in themselves adequate to account for role enactments.

Many questions remain regarding the social factors which might account for these preliminary findings. Chapter Five will examine those factors, in

addition to attitudes, which might be predictive of marital role enactments. In Chapter Six, a closer investigation of the situation in the resource extraction community will conclude the report of the findings.

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS: PREDICTORS OF MARITAL ROLE ALLOCATION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, findings are reported regarding factors which influence shared marital role enactment. After a review of pertinent literature and examination of the data, thirteen predictor variables were selected which were most likely to account for the variability in the indicators of role sharing. Zero-order correlations using the Pearson product moment coefficient were calculated to examine the relationships between these predictor variables and the indicators of shared marital roles. The results of multiple regression and path analysis are then reported which analyse the relative influences of the predictor variables on shared roles.

One of the goals of this chapter is to identify predictor variables which may be of importance for understanding the effects of migration to and residence in Ft. McMurray on marital role behaviour.

In this chapter, the following propositions are tested:

6. The number of social contacts is positively associated with shared marital roles.

7. The ratio of friend/kinship contacts is positively associated with shared marital roles (that is, high friend/low kin contact is positively related to shared roles).

8. Educational attainment is positively associated with shared marital role enactment.

9. Age cohort is inversely associated with shared marital role enactment (younger aged couples showing greater role

sharing).

10. Religious participation is positively related to shared marital role enactment.

11. Religious liberalism is positively associated with shared marital role enactment.

12. The interaction of religious involvement and conservatism is inversely associated with shared marital role enactment.

13. Gender of respondent is associated with reports of marital role enactment, in that wives will tend to report greater provider role sharing than husbands report, while husbands will tend to report greater sharing of the housekeeping role than wives report.

14. Wife's labour force involvement is positively associated with shared marital roles.

15. Husband's income is inversely associated with shared marital roles; wife's income is positively associated with shared marital roles.

16. The presence of preschool children in the household is inversely associated with shared marital roles.

17. Family size is inversely associated with shared marital role enactment (the larger the family size, the less the role sharing).

18. Egalitarian sex-role attitudes are positively associated with marital role sharing.

The above propositions are based upon three general assumptions: 1). that marital role sharing is influenced by normative-reference group associations (Propositions 6 - 13); 2). that marital role sharing is influenced by the relative resources of the husband and wife (Propositions 14 - 17); and 3). that marital role sharing is affected by intentional choices regarding role sharing (Proposition 18). These assumptions represent each of the general theories discussed in Chapter Two as explanations of marital role

enactment patterns.

5.2. ZERO-ORDER RELATIONSHIPS

The complete zero-order matrix of relationships among the predictor variables and with the dependent variables is summarized in Table 5.1, Table 5.2 and Table 5.3 for each community. The cluster of dependent variables is positively inter-related in all three communities. The provider and domestic roles are significantly correlated (Ft. McMurray .36, Cold Lake .27, Edmonton .29).

Although the provider and domestic role indicators are positively associated, distinct relationships occur for each variable. In the correlation matrix for the Cold Lake region (Table 5.2) PROVIDER and DOMESTIC are only moderately related to one another (.27). For some variables the relationships with each of the dependent indicators are dissimilar. For instance, husband's educational attainment is positively associated with sharing the domestic role, but inversely with sharing the provider role. It was decided, therefore, to test the propositions by making separate analyses for each of the dependent variables rather than utilizing the combined index, EQUAL.

The findings are reported by patterns for each of the three communities, initially for the provider role, and then for the domestic role. The focus of the discussion is on Ft. McMurray, with comparisons to the other communities.

Table 5.1 **Zero-order correlation matrix of predictor variables and marital role indicators for Fort McMurray**

VARIABLES		1. PROVIDER	2. DOMESTIC	3. EQUAL	4. SEX	5. RAGE	6. NEIGHBORS	7. KIN	8. FRIENDS	9. SOCIAL	10. FKIN	11. HEDUC	12. WEDUC	13. RELPART	14. RELCON	15. RELIGION	16. WEMPLOY	17. HUSINC	18. WINC	19. TOTINC	20. INRAT	21. PRESCH	22. FAMSIZE	23. ATWOMWK	24. ATMOMWK	25. SEXATT
1. PROVIDER	Shared provider role	1.00																								
2. DOMESTIC	Shared domestic role	.36[1]	1.00																							
3. EQUAL	Shared marital roles index	.85[1]	.79[1]	1.00																						
4. SEX	Sex of resopndent	.03	.04	.04	1.00																					
5. RAGE	Age of respondent	-.03	-.09[2]	-.07	.16[1]	1.00																				
6. NEIGHBORS	Visit with neighbors	-.12[2]	-.13[1]	-.15[1]	-.17[1]	.03	1.00																			
7. KIN	Visit with kin	.01	.01	.01	.11[2]	-.19[1]	.20[1]	1.00																		
8. FRIENDS	Visit with friends	.09	-.04	.04	.00	-.12[2]	-.03	.11[2]	1.00																	
9. SOCIAL	Total social relationships	-.03	-.10[2]	-.07	-.14[1]	-.17[1]	.68[1]	.59[1]	.59[1]	1.00																
10. FKIN	Ration of friend/kin visits	.02	-.05	-.01	.05	.01	-.13[1]	-.46[1]	.77[1]	.17[1]	1.00															
11. HEDUC	Husband's educational attmt.	-.03	.09[2]	.03	.03	-.03	.09	.01	-.24[1]	-.10[2]	-.19[1]	1.00														
12. WEDUC	Wife's educational attmt.	.18[1]	.16[1]	.20[1]	.08	-.01	-.02	-.06	-.22[1]	-.18[1]	-.16[1]	.39[1]	1.00													
13. RELPART	Religious participation	.05	-.04	.01	.10[2]	-.09	.03	-.09	.02	-.01	.07	-.06	.00	1.00												
14. RELCON	Religious conservatism	.06	-.00	.05	.06	.04	.02	.01	-.09	-.04	-.07	.15[1]	.07	.31[1]	1.00											
15. RELIGION	Religiosity index	.07	-.05	.02	.09	.01	.05	-.02	-.06	-.01	-.04	.11[2]	.06	.68[1]	.66[1]	1.00										
16. WEMPLOY	Wife employed full-time	.49[1]	.26[1]	.46[1]	-.06	-.05	-.06	-.03	-.04	-.07	-.05	.02	.01	-.05	.04	-.01	1.00									
17. HUSINC	Husband's income	-.01	-.07	-.05	.19[1]	.02	.05	-.01	-.14[1]	-.07	-.15[1]	.10[2]	.04	.02	.04	.06	.05	1.00								
18. WINC	Wife's income	.45[1]	.26[1]	.44[1]	.00	-.07	-.01	.02	.02	.01	-.05	.17[1]	.20[1]	.01	-.03	-.01	.45[1]	.05	1.00							
19. TOTINC	Total household income	.10[2]	.01	.06	.24[1]	.12[2]	-.05	-.02	-.06	-.09	-.09	.10[2]	.10[2]	.07	.06	.07	.13[2]	.90[1]	.33[1]	1.00						
20. INCRAT	Husband/wife income ratio	-.37[1]	-.25[1]	-.38[1]	.17[1]	.01	.04	.02	-.09	-.03	-.08	.05	-.05	.03	.02	-.01	-.38[1]	.49[1]	-.64[1]	.28[1]	1.00					
21. PRESCH	No. of preschool children	-.26[1]	-.06	-.20[1]	.00	-.26[1]	.10[2]	.07	-.02	-.07	-.04	.01	-.12[1]	-.07	-.09	-.08	-.14[1]	.08	-.20[1]	-.13[2]	.17[1]	1.00				
22. FAMSIZE	Household size	-.15[1]	-.17[1]	-.19[1]	-.13[1]	.13[1]	.11[2]	.08	.08	.15[1]	.08	-.19[1]	-.27[1]	-.13[1]	-.11[2]	-.13[1]	-.04	.01	-.17[1]	-.13[2]	.08	.30[1]	1.00			
23. ATWOMWK	Attitude women working	.20[1]	.13[1]	.20[1]	.03	-.20[1]	-.10[2]	.06	-.12[2]	-.11[2]	-.15[1]	.09[2]	.11[2]	.10[2]	.15[1]	.16[1]	.17[1]	.11[2]	.17[1]	.05	-.06	.14[1]	-.06	1.00		
24. ATMOMWK	Attitude mothers working	.12[1]	.15[1]	.16[1]	-.06	-.19[1]	.02	.02	-.12[2]	-.06	-.14[1]	14[1]	.18[1]	.03	.10[2]	.07	.13[1]	.03	.23[1]	.14[2]	-.12[2]	-.07	-.07	.43[1]	1.00	
25. SEXATT	Sex-role attitude index	.19[1]	.18[1]	.22[1]	-.06	-.23[1]	-.04	.04	-.13[1]	-.09[2]	-.17[1]	14	.17[1]	.08	.15[1]	.14[1]	.15[1]	.08	.24	.12[2]	-.11[2]	.12[2]	-.09	.84[1]	.85[1]	1.00

1. $p < .01$
2. $p < .05$

Table 5.2 Zero-order correlation matrix of predictor variables and marital role indicators for Cold Lake Region

	VARIABLES	1. PROVIDER	2. DOMESTIC	3. EQUAL	4. SEX	5. RAGE	6. NEIGHBORS	7. KIN	8. FRIENDS	9. SOCIAL	10. FKIN	11. HEDUC	12. WEDUC	13. RELPART	14. RELCON	15. RELIGION	16. WEMPLOY	17. HUSINC	18. WINC	19. TOTINC	20. INRAT	21. PRESCH	22. FAMSIZE	23. ATWOMWK	24. ATMOMWK	25. SEXATT
1. PROVIDER	Shared provider role	1.00																							
2. DOMESTIC	Shared domestic role	.27[1]	1.00																						
3. EQUAL	Shared marital roles index	.83[1]	.76[1]	1.00																					
4. SEX	Sex of respondent	.21[1]	.19[1]	.25[1]	1.00																				
5. RAGE	Age of respondent	.30[1]	.07[2]	.25[1]	.26[1]	1.00																			
6. NEIGHBORS	Visit with neighbors	.09[1]	.02	.07[2]	.08[2]	.13[1]	1.00																		
7. KIN	Visit with kin	.00	.07[2]	.04	-.03	-.14[1]	.29[1]	1.00																	
8. FRIENDS	Visit with friends	.02	-.00	.01	-.03	.09[2]	.10[1]	1.00	1.00																
9. SOCIAL	Total social relationships	.06	.04	.06	.01	.06	.68[1]	.63[1]	.67[1]	1.00															
10. FKIN	Ratio of friend/kin visits	-.02	-.03	-.03	-.02	.13[1]	-.11[1]	-.57[1]	.69[1]	.11[1]	1.00														
11. HEDUC	Husband's education attmt.	-.23[1]	.05	-.13[1]	-.03	-.52[1]	-.03	.05	.21[1]	-.11[1]	-.18[1]	1.00													
12. WEDUC	Wife's education attmt.	-.10[1]	.12[1]	.00	.00	-.45[1]	-.04	.04	-.20[1]	-.12[1]	-.18[1]	.53[1]	1.00												
13. RELPART	Religious participation	.04	.09[2]	.07[2]	.04	-.21[1]	-.07[2]	-.03	-.06	-.09[2]	-.01	.08[2]	.07[2]	1.00											
14. RELCON	Religious conservatism	-.01	.06	.03	.03	-.17[1]	-.01	-.06	-.03	-.05	.03	.16[1]	.12[1]	.41[1]	1.00										
15. RELIGION	Religiousity index	.01	.06[2]	.05	.02	-.21[1]	-.04	-.05	-.06	-.08[2]	.01	.16[1]	.11[1]	.78[1]	.67[1]	1.00									
16. WEMPLOY	Wife employed full-time	.38[1]	.26[1]	.41[1]	.07[2]	-.16[1]	.02	-.05	-.17[1]	-.11[1]	-.09[2]	.17[1]	.24[1]	.13[1]	.09[1]	.13[1]	1.00								
17. HUSINC	Husband's income	-.26[1]	-.07[2]	-.22[1]	-.09[2]	-.30[1]	.00	.01	-.13[1]	-.07[2]	-.10[1]	.29[1]	.27[1]	.11[1]	.06[2]	.11[1]	.08	1.00							
18. WINC	Wife's income	.30[1]	.18[1]	.31[1]	.08[2]	-.03	.03	-.02	-.11[1]	-.06	-.04	.09[1]	.17[1]	.09[2]	.07[2]	.10[1]	.49[1]	-.03	1.00						
19. TOTINC	Total household income	-.06	.04	-.02	-.07[2]	-.37[1]	.03	.02	-.24[1]	-.12[1]	-.18[1]	.44[1]	.43[1]	.14[1]	.13[1]	.16[1]	.40[1]	.83[1]	.52[1]	1.00					
20. INCRAT	Husband/wife income ratio	-.38[1]	-.16[1]	-.34[1]	-.05	-.16[1]	.03	.02	.01	-.11[1]	-.01	.14[1]	.07	-.08	-.03	-.06	-.34[1]	.47[1]	-.65[1]	.13[1]	1.00				
21. PRESCH	No. of preschool children	-.33[1]	-.07[2]	-.26[1]	-.18[1]	-.44[1]	.01	.12[1]	.04	.06[2]	-.05	.28	.22[1]	-.04	.04	.03	-.19[1]	.13[1]	-.13[1]	.05	.22[1]	1.00			
22. FAMSIZE	Household size	-.16[1]	-.16[1]	-.19[1]	-.17[1]	-.26[1]	-.02	-.07[2]	.03	-.06	.03	.06[2]	.07[2]	-.07[2]	.01	-.03	-.07[2]	.14[1]	-.13[1]	.07	.20[1]	.43[1]	1.00		
23. ATWOMWK	Attitude women working	.02	.06	.05	-.11[1]	-.27[1]	-.02	.06	-.13[1]	-.06	-.13[1]	.24[1]	.22[1]	.17[1]	.15[1]	.19[1]	.26[1]	.15[1]	.24[1]	.34[1]	-.15[1]	.04	-.05	1.00	
24. ATMOMWK	Attitude mothers working	.05	.06	.06	-.13[1]	-.29[1]	.04	.03	-.17[1]	-.07[2]	-.16[1]	.21[1]	.27[1]	.11[1]	.17[1]	.17[1]	.22[1]	.11[1]	.26[1]	.30[1]	-.16[1]	.14[1]	.01	.42[1]	1.00	
25. SEXATT	Sex-role attitude index	.04	.07	.06	-.14[1]	-.33[1]	.01	.06	-.18[1]	-.06[2]	-.17[1]	.27[1]	.28[1]	.17[1]	.19[1]	.21[1]	.30[1]	.15[1]	.30[1]	.37[1]	-.18[1]	.10[1]	-.03	.38[1]	.30[1]	1.00

1. $p < .01$
2. $p < .05$

Table 5.3 Zero-order correlation matrix of predictor variables and marital role indicators for Edmonton

	VARIABLES	1. PROVIDER	2. DOMESTIC	3. EQUAL	4. SEX	5. RAGE	6. NEIGHBORS	7. KIN	8. FRIENDS	9. SOCIAL	10. FKIN	11. HEDUC	12. WEDUC	13. RELPART	14. RELCON	15. RELIGION	16. WEMPLOY	17. HUSINC	18. WINC	19. TOTINC	20. INCRAT	21. PRESCH	22. FAMSIZE	23. ATWOMWK	24. ATMOWK	25. SEXATT
1.	PROVIDER	Shared provider role	1.00																							
2.	DOMESTIC	Shared domestic role	.29[1]	1.00																						
3.	EQUAL	Shared marital roles index	.84[1]	.76[1]	1.00																					
4.	SEX	Sex of respondent	.11[2]	.12[2]	.14[1]	1.00																				
5.	RAGE	Age of respondent	-.18[1]	.06	-.10[2]	.07	1.00																			
6.	NEIGHBORS	Visit with neighbors	-.12[2]	-.08	-.12[2]	-.03	.12[2]	1.00																		
7.	KIN	Visit with kin	.08	.01	.06	-.08	-.32[1]	.21[1]	1.00																	
8.	FRIENDS	Visit with friends	.00	-.07	-.04	-.10[2]	.02	.11[2]	.15[1]	1.00																
9.	SOCIAL	Total social relationships	-.04	-.07	-.06	-.09	-.05	.66[1]	.59[1]	.65[1]	1.00															
10.	FKIN	Ratio of friend/kin visits	-.06	-.07	-.06	-.02	.24	-.04	-.56[1]	.69[1]	.09	1.00														
11.	HEDUC	Husband's educational attmt.	.00	.11[2]	.08	.13[2]	-.37[1]	-.04	.08	-.10[2]	-.05	-.17[1]	1.00													
12.	WEDUC	Wife's educational attmt.	.11[2]	.08	.13[1]	-.03	-.41[1]	-.02	.12[2]	-.002	.03	-.13[1]	.61[1]	1.00												
13.	RELPART[3]	Religious participation	.10[2]	.02	.09	.11[2]	-.22[1]	-.13[1]	.11[2]	-.21[1]	-.12[2]	-.25[1]	.08	.06	1.00											
14.	RELCON	Religious conservatism	-.07	.08	-.02	-.02	.10[2]	.05	-.07	.03	.03	-.08	.01	.01	-.07	1.00										
15.	RELIGION	Religiosity index	.04	.08	.08	.05	-.10[2]	-.04	.04	-.10[2]	-.04	-.12[2]	.07	.05	.63[1]	.68[1]	1.00									
16.	WEMPLOY	Wife employed full-time	-.48[1]	.19[1]	.44[1]	.14[1]	-.35[1]	-.13[2]	.06	-.07	-.08	-.13[1]	.18[1]	.25[1]	.16[1]	-.02	.11[2]	1.00								
17.	HUSINC	Husband's income	-.12[2]	.00	.08	-.06	.15[1]	.00	.02	-.03	.01	-.01	.15[1]	.19[1]	-.03	.10[2]	.07	-.07	1.00							
18.	WINC	Wife's income	.45[1]	.24[1]	.45[1]	.15[1]	-.35[1]	-.12[2]	.07	-.05	-.06	-.12[2]	.14[1]	.24[1]	.11[2]	.05	.13[2]	.69[1]	.16[1]	1.00						
19.	TOTINC	Total household income	.05	.08	.08	.001	-.26[1]	-.04	.04	.01	-.01	-.05	.18[1]	.25[1]	.01	.11[2]	.11[2]	.24[1]	.94[1]	.48[1]	1.00					
20.	INCRAT	Husband/wife income ratio	-.36[1]	-.14[1]	-.33[1]	-.15[1]	.04	.05	-.01	.06	.05	.05	.04	.02	.10[2]	.06	-.01	-.56[1]	.82[1]	-.40[1]	.60[1]	1.00				
21.	PRESCH	No. of preschool children	-.17[1]	-.06	-.15[1]	.002	-.35[1]	-.01	.09	-.01	.02	-.06	.16[1]	.14[1]	.03	-.11[2]	-.05	-.18[1]	.02	-.18[1]	-.04	.13[2]	1.00			
22.	FAMSIZE	Household size	-.20[1]	.10[2]	-.19[1]	-.15[1]	-.12[2]	.08	-.002	-.05	.03	-.05	-.06	.002	-.15[1]	-.07	-.14	-.21[1]	.28[1]	-.15[1]	.20[1]	.35[1]	.36[1]	1.00		
23.	ATWOMWK	Attitude women working	.26[1]	.25[1]	.31[1]	-.04	.31[1]	-.02	.14[1]	.01	.05	-.09	.26[1]	.25[1]	.12[2]	-.01	.09	.27[1]	.22[1]	.26[1]	.29[1]	.04	.05	.02	1.00		
24.	ATMOWK	Attitude mothers working	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00	
25.	SEXATT	Sex-role attitude index	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00

1. $p < .01$
2. $p < .05$

5.2.1. Shared provider role

Zero-order correlations between the predictor variables and PROVIDER are reported in Table 5.4 for each of the Alberta communities.

Normative-reference group indicators

Social relationships. Role sharing is not strongly associated with patterns of social involvements. Neither association with kin, nor with friends, nor the total amount of socializing is associated with sharing the provider role. In each of the communities, sharing the provider role is inversely related to visiting with neighbours. This is less evident in Cold Lake (-.09) than in either Ft. McMurray (-.12) or Edmonton (-.12). Dual earner couples would appear to have less time to devote to social contacts with neighbours, particularly in the more urbanized locales of Edmonton and Ft. McMurray. The ratio of friend/kin visits does not appear to be a significant predictor of role sharing. This ratio, however, is associated with attitudes unfavourable toward married women working in the labour force, in Cold Lake (-.13, Table 5.2) and in Ft. McMurray (-.15, Table 5.1). In these communities, the ratio of friend to kin contacts is positively related to negative attitudes toward married women being employed. This finding contradicts the expectation that friendship associations would influence favourable attitudes. In all samples, however, visits with kin are associated with younger age. The association between social contacts and attitudes towards female roles is likely an artifact of younger age, which is

Table 5.4 Zero-order and multiple regression relationships of predictor variables with provider role for all communities

Predictor Variables	Community																				
	Fort McMurray					Cold Lake Region					Edmonton					All Communities					
	r	B	Beta	s.e. B	sig T F	r	B	Beta	s.e. B	sig T F	r	B	Beta	s.e. B	sig T F		r	B	Beta	s.e. B	sig T F
Normative-reference group																					
Visits with neighbours	-.12[2]	-.05	-.08	.03	.18	.09[1]	.01	.02	.02	.58	-.12[2]	-.04	-.05	.04	.38	NEIG	.00	-.01	-.01	.02	.77
Visits with kin	.01	-.01	-.02	.05	.80	.00	.07	.09[2]	.03	.03	.08	.03	.04	.05	.55	KIN	.02	.05	.06[2]	.02	.03
Visits with friends	.09	.06	.10	.04	.12	.02	.02	.04	.02	.24	.00	.01	.01	.04	.90	FRIENDS	.06[2]	.03	.06[2]	.02	.04
Total social relationships*	-.03					.06					.04					SOCIAL	.04				
Ratio of friend/kin visits*	.02					-.02					-.06					F/KIN	.01				
Husband's educational attainment	-.03	-.06	-.13[2]	.03	.04	-.23[1]	-.06	-.16[1]	.02	.00	.00	-.06	-.15[2]	.03	.06	HEDUC	-.16[1]	-.07	-.17[1]	.01	.00
Wife's educational attainment	.18[1]	.02	.04	.03	.61	-.10[1]	.02	.05	.02	.30	.11[2]	.03	.07	.03	.32	WEDUC	-.01	.02	.05	.02	.19
Age of respondent	-.03	-.00	-.02	.01	.80	.30[1]	.01	.26[1]	.00	.00	-.18[1]	-.00	-.04	.00	.57	RAGE	.15[1]	.01	.12[1]	.00	.01
Religious participation	.05	-.04	-.04	.07	.55	.04	.05	.06	.03	.18	.10[2]	.01	.01	.04	.88	RELPART	.05[2]	.03	.04	.02	.16
Religious conservatism	.08	.07	.06	.07	.32	-.01	.02	.02	.04	.58	-.07	-.06	-.08	.04	.16	RELCON	-.00	-.01	-.01	.03	.62
Religiosity index*	.07					.01					-.04					RELIGON	.03				
Sex of respondent	.03	.02	.02	.10	.87	.21[1]	.16	.10[1]	.06	.01	.11[2]	.09	.06	.09	.36	SEX	.14[1]	.14[1]	.09[1]	.04	.00
Economic-resource																					
Wife employed full-time		.49[1]	.30[1]	.30[1]	.07	.00	.38[1]	.66[1]	.38[1]	.08	.00 .48[1]	.21	.13	.25	.42	WEMPLOY	.41[1]	.49[1]	.34[1]	.05	.00
Husband's income	-.01	-.01	-.03	.01	.58	-.26[1]	-.03	-.12[1]	.01	.00	-.12[2]	-.04	-.15[2]	.02	.03	HUSINC	-.19[1]	-.03	-.12[1]	.01	.00
Wife's income	.45[1]	.09[1]	.31[1]	.02	.00	.30[1]	.03	.13[1]	.01	.00	.45[1]	.15	.24	.09	.12	WINC	.34[1]	.05	.17[1]	.01	.00
Total household income*	.10[2]					-.06					.05					TOTINC	-.01				
Husband/wife income ratio*	-.37[1]					-.38[1]					-.36[1]					INCRAT	-.35[1]				
Preschool children	-.26[1]	-.07	-.07	-.07	.34	-.33[1]	-.08	-.08	.05	.08	-.17[1]	-.11	-.09	.07	.15	PRESCH	-.28[1]	-.09	-.09[1]	.03	.01
Household size	-.15[1]	-.02	-.04	.03	.54	-.16[1]	.02	.03	.02	.43	-.20[1]	-.04	-.07	.03	.25	FAMSIZE	-.16[1]	-.01	-.03	.02	.37
Subjective-utility																					
Attitude married women working	.20[1]	.05	.11	.03	.07	.02	.00	.00	.16	.90	.26[1]	.08	.18[1]	.03	.00	ATWOMWK	.10[1]	.03	.08[1]	.01	.01
Attitude mothers working*	.12[1]					.05										ATMOWK	.06[2]				
Sex-role attitude index*	.19[1]					.04										SEXATT	.07[2]				
Constant		1.81		.55			.96		.31			1.91		.50				1.44		.23	
R^2	.36		.31			.39		.38			.30		.26				.32		.31		

* Variable not in equation

1. $p < .01$
2. $p < .05$

positively associated with favourable attitudes toward female employment. The influence of kinship associations on sex-role attitudes, however, is not strong enough to bring about a relationship between the friend/kin ratio and sharing marital roles.

Educational attainment. Husband's educational attainment is unrelated to sharing the provider role for the Ft. McMurray and Edmonton samples. In Cold Lake, there is an inverse relationship: lower education of husbands is associated with greater sharing of the provider role. This could be due to the older, more rural women sharing in farm labour, since farmers tend to be older, and have less formal education. Lower educational attainment of husbands also tends to be associated with limited occupational status and income, factors which may influence wives to seek employment to supplement family income.

Greater educational attainment by wives is significantly associated with PROVIDER in Ft. McMurray (.18) and in Edmonton (.11). In these urban communities, educational attainment would appear to affect attitudes toward women working, and equip women to enter the labour force. Wife's educational attainment is significantly correlated with both attitudes toward married women working (e.g., Ft. McMurray, .18) and with wives being fully employed (.18). The pattern is slightly different in Cold Lake, where wife's educational attainment is inversely correlated with sharing the provider role (-.10). The tendency of farm wives to report sharing the provider role is a likely explanation of this distinct pattern. In Cold Lake, wife's educational

attainment is associated with attitudes favouring wife's employment (.27) and mother's employment (.28), and with women being employed full-time (.24), but sex-role attitudes are not associated with sharing the provider role. Nor is the relationship between a wife being fully employed and sharing the provider role as strong as in Ft. McMurray (.49) or Edmonton (.48). Thus, sharing the provider role would appear to be enhanced by the educational attainment of wives, but not strongly affected by husband's educational level, with the exception of the Cold Lake region.

Respondent's age. In Ft. McMurray, the age of the respondent is not associated with enacting the provider role. In Cold Lake, increased age is associated with sharing the provider role (.30); in Edmonton, younger age is related to sharing this role (-.18), that is younger respodents are more favourable to role sharing. These discrepant findings are likely due to the different age and occupational structures of the communities. In the Cold Lake region, farm wives, who would report sharing the provider role, tend to be older. Thus, in Cold Lake sharing the provider role is less dependent upon the wife being employed in a wage-earning occupation. In Edmonton, the expected pattern prevails that younger-aged couples are more likely to adopt a shared provider role pattern. In Ft. McMurray, there is no relationship as the community is predominantly younger-aged.

Religious preference and involvement. These factors are uniformly unrelated to the sharing of the provider role. The single exception is in Edmonton, where less religious involvement is associated with sharing the provider

role (.10). In all communities, the degree of religious involvement is quite low. In Ft. McMurray, fully 74% reported no religious attendance in the previous month with 59% in Cold Lake and 62% in Edmonton reporting similar patterns. This low level of participation would tend to reduce the possible influence of religious values on marital role sharing. The significant finding in Edmonton indicates that less religious participation is associated with greater role sharing, consistent with the teachings of many religious groups that reinforce traditional female and male roles.

The religiosity index (RELIGION) combines attendance scores with religious preference. Zero-order matricies (cf. Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3) indicate that religious participation is strongly associated with adherence to a conservative or fundamentalist religious group. Thus, this index is a composite measure of conservative religious intensity. The relationship of this measure with role sharing, however, indicates that even the most religious component of the samples shows little difference in sharing the provider role than the general population.[1]

Gender of respondent. The gender of the respondent is not associated with the reports of sharing the provider role in the Ft. McMurray sample. In both Cold Lake and Edmonton, however, husbands are more likely to report sharing the provider role than are wives. As the Ft. McMurray population is somewhat younger than the other two communities, the differences in the male and female reports are likely affected by the age of the respondent.

[1]Crosstabulations of the dependent variables by religious denomination confirmed this finding.

Younger respondents are more likely to have less perceptual differences in reporting marital roles than are older couples. As younger respondents are also more likely to favour the sharing of roles, the reports of role sharing may be affected by this bias.

Economic-resource indicators

Economic "resources" have a marked effect on sharing the provider role.

Employment status of wife. If the wife is employed full-time, there is a strong likelihood that shared provider role enactments will be reported. This is the case for all communities: Ft. McMurray (.49), Cold Lake (.38), and Edmonton (.48). Indeed, the concept of the wife working full-time is almost tautological with sharing the provider role. The relationship between these two indicators, however, is not one to one. In Cold Lake, the wife's employment status explains only 16% of the variation in the shared provider role. Wife's working would appear to be a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for respondents to indicate the sharing of the provider role.

Income. Sharing the provider role is inversely related to husband's income for respondents in Cold Lake (-.23) and in Edmonton (-.12) but not for the Ft. McMurray residents (-.01). These findings suggest that sharing the provider role is motivated by the desire or necessity of wives to supplement the family income. This motivation would not appear to be the case, however, for Ft. McMurray couples.

The income level of wives is strongly associated with sharing the provider role in all communities: Ft. McMurray (.45), Cold Lake (.30), and Edmonton (.45). Total household income is not related to shared roles in Cold Lake or Edmonton, and has only a weak relationship in Ft. McMurray (.10). The ratio of husband's to wife's earnings is a strong predictor that the sharing of roles will be reported, with lower ratios indicating greater role sharing.

The strong relationship between wife's income and the sharing of the provider role is an obvious finding. Sharing the provider function, however, would appear to be less dependent upon the husband's earnings, than on the income of the wife, and tends to be unrelated to total family income, the case of Ft. McMurray being the exception to this rule.

Household composition. Household size is inversely related to sharing the provider role in all three samples. Larger households are more likely to have dependent children. Having preschool children, in particular, is a strong inhibitor of sharing provider functions. These findings indicate that involvement in child-bearing and child-rearing tends to withdraw wives from shared provider involvements. Couples who wish to share earning the family income would appear to be faced with the alternatives of reducing family commitments or temporally sequencing these involvements over the family life cycle.

Subjective-utility indicators

Sex-role attitudes. The sharing of the provider role is significantly

associated with attitudes favouring married women's employment for the Ft. McMurray (.20) and the Edmonton (.26) samples. In Ft. McMurray, sharing the provider role is also associated with agreeing that mothers of small children may work (.12). The sex-role attitude index, which combines the items measuring attitudes towards married women working, and mothers of small children working outside the home, is also positively correlated with sharing the provider role in Ft. McMurray (.19). In Cold Lake, sex-role attitudes, however, are not associated with sharing the provider role. Perhaps this is related, again, to the particular role of the farm wife. In general, however, on the basis of the correlational findings, holding attitudes which are favourable to wives being employed tends to be associated with the reports by respondents that this role is actually shared. Such attitudes in themselves, however, would appear to be insufficient to account for the sharing of the provider role.

Summary

In summary, a number of findings are consistent for all three communities. Sharing the provider role is significantly related to sharing the domestic role, to infrequent visiting with neighbours, to wife's employment and income, to the ratio of husband's and wife's incomes, to smaller household size, and to having fewer or no preschool children.

Other findings vary with the community. Sharing the provider role appears to decrease with age in Edmonton, increase with age in Cold Lake, and does not vary by age in Ft. McMurray. In Ft. McMurray and in Edmonton,

husband's educational attainment is unrelated to role sharing, whereas there is an inverse relationship for Cold Lake residents. The educational attainment of wives enhances role sharing in Ft. McMurray and Edmonton but is inversely related in Cold Lake. Husbands perceive greater role sharing in Edmonton, but not in the other samples. This may be due to this sample having more male than female responents. Lower husband's income is related to role sharing in Cold Lake and in Edmonton, but not Ft. McMurray. In Edmonton and Ft. McMurray, attitudes favouring women working are related to sharing the provider role, but this is not the case in Cold Lake.

In all communities, sharing the provider role would appear to be unaffected by associations with kin or friends, nor by religious preference. In Edmonton religious involvement inhibits role sharing.

It would appear that wife's educational attainment, favourable attitudes towards women working, wife's employment and earnings, and fewer family demands are associated with sharing the provider role. The effects of other predictors, however, tend to vary with the community context. From a theoretical viewpoint, those factors indicative of the "economic-resource" approach appear to be the most determinative influences on the sharing of the provider role.

5.2.2. Shared domestic role

In this section, findings are reported regarding factors which affect the sharing of the domestic or housekeeping role. As indicated in the previous section, sharing the domestic role is significantly related to the sharing of the provider role. This relationship is strongest in the Ft. McMurray sample (.36), which has the youngest age profile of the three communities. Sharing the provider role, then, can be viewed as a major factor contributing to the emergence of shared housekeeping. Correlations between predictor variables and the sharing of the domestic role are presented in Table 5.5.

Normative-reference group predictors

Social relationships. Social relationships tend to reflect no distinctive associations with the domestic role. Sharing the domestic role is unrelated to the frequency of visits with friends. In the Cold Lake region, a positive and significant relationship occurs with visiting kin (.07), but there is no significant relationship in the other two communities. In Ft. McMurray, sharing the domestic role is inversely related to visiting with neighbours. This may indicate that dual earners sacrifice social relationships in order to make time for work and household duties, and are less integrated into the social fabric of the community. This social isolation is also reflected in the finding that the total social contacts of dual earners are less than couples who are more traditional (-.10). The ratio of friend/kin relationships, however, is unrelated to the sharing of household responsibilities.

Table 5.5 Zero-order and multiple regression relationships of predictor variables with domestic role for all communities

	Community																				
	Fort McMurray					Cold Lake Region					Edmonton					All Communities					
Predictor Variables	r	B	Beta	s.e. B	sig T F	r	B	Beta	s.e. B	sig T F	r	B	Beta	s.e B	sig T F		r	B	Beta	s.e. B	sig T F
Normative-reference group																					
Visits with neighbours	-.13[1]	-.01	-.02	.03	.77	.02	-.04	-.07	.02	.13	-.08	-.03	-.06	.04	.38	NEIG	-.06[2]	-.03	-.06	.02	.06
Visits with kin	.01	-.04	-.06	.05	.43	.07[2]	.07	.12[1]	.03	.01[1]	-.01	.04	.05	.05	.43	KIN	.04	.05[2]	.07[2]	.02	.04
Visits with friends	-.04	.02	.03	.04	.68	-.00	.02	.04	.02	.41	-.07	-.03	-.05	.04	.39	FRIENDS	-.02	.01	.03	.02	.43
Total social relationships*	-.10[2]					.04					-.07					SOCIAL	-.02				
Ratio of friend/kin visits*	-.05					-.03					-.07					F/KIN	-.04				
Husband's educational attainment	.09[2]	.00	.00	.03	.99	.05	.00	.003	.02	.96	.11[2]	.04	.13	.03	.11	HEDUC	.09[1]	.01	.05	.01	.26
Wife's educational attainment	.16[1]	.01	.03	.03	.70	.12[1]	.04	.10	.02	.08	.08	.02	.06	.03	.41	WEDUC	.13[1]	.03	.04	.03	.34
Age of respondent	-.09[2]	-.01	-.08	.01	.27	.07[2]	.01	.17[1]	.00	.01	.06	.01	.29[1]	.00	.00	RAGE	.03	.01	.13[1]	.00	.00
Religious participation	-.04	-.10	-.12	.07	.12	.09[2]	.04	.06	.03	.20	.02	-.01	-.02	.03	.80	RELPART	.03	.01	-.01	.02	.83
Religious conservatism	-.00	-.02	-.02	.07	.78	.06	.02	.02	.04	.71	.08	.03	.05	.04	.42	RELCON	.04	.02	.02	.03	.48
Religiosity index*	-.05					.08[2]					.08					RELIGON	.04				
Sex of respondent	.04	.11	.08	.10	.30	.19[1]	.15[2]	.11[2]	.06	.02	.12[2]	.03	.02	.08	.73	SEX	.14[1]	.11[1]	.08[1]	.04	.01
Economic-resource																					
Wife employed full-time		.26[1]	.16[2]	.18[2]	.07	.02	.26[1]	.41[1]	.27[1]	.08	.00	.19[1]	.50[2]	.36[2]	.23	.03	WEMPLOY	.24[1]	.23[1]	.19[1]	.05	.00
Husband's income	-.06	-.02	-.11	.01	.13	-.07[2]	-.12	-.07	.01	.15	-.00	-.03[2]	-.14[2]	.02	.05	HUSINC	-.06[2]	-.01	-.06[2]	.01	.02
Wife's income	.26[1]	.03	.11	.02	.18	.18[1]	.00	.01	.01	.91	.24[1]	.29[1]	.55[1]	.09[1]	.00	WINC	.19[1]	.01	.04	.01	.22
Total household income*	.01					.04					.08					TOTINC	.04				
Husband/wife income ratio*	-.25[1]					-.16[1]					-.14[1]					INCRAT	-.18[1]				
Preschool children	-.06	-.05	-.06	.07	.43	.07[2]	.09	.10	.05	.06	-.06	.07	.07	.07	.32	PRESCH	-.07[1]	.03	.04	.03	.34
Household size	-.17[1]	-.05	-.12	.04	.15	.15[1]	-.05[2]	-.10[2]	.02	.03	-.10[2]	-.02	-.05	.03	.45	FAMSIZE	.15[1]	.04[1]	-.10[1]	.02	.01
Subjective-utility																					
Attitude married women working	.13[1]	.04	.10	.02	.15	.06	-.001	-.004	.02	.93	.25[1]	.08[1]	.21[1]	.02	.00	ATWOMWK	.12[1]	.02[2]	.07[2]	.02	.05
Attitude mothers working*	.15[1]					.06										ATMOWK	.09[1]				
Sex-role attitude index*	.18[1]					.07										SEXATT	.11[1]				
Constant		2.51		.54			.90		.31	.00		.39	.46					1.14		.23	.00
R^2	.17		.10			.14		.11			.16		.12			R^2	.11		.09		

* Variable not included in equation

1 $p < .01$

2 $p < .05$

Educational attainment. Educational attainment appears to influence patterns of domestic role sharing. The educational attainment of wives is significantly and positively associated with sharing domestic responsibilities. This relationship is consistent in all three communities: Ft. McMurray (.16), Cold Lake (.12), and Edmonton (.08, $p > .05$). Husband's educational attainment is positively related to the sharing of household duties in Ft. McMurray (.09), and in Edmonton (.11), but not in Cold Lake.

Age of respondent. Age of respondent again shows inconsistent relationships. In Ft. McMurray, younger respondents are more likely to report shared housekeeping (-.09), while in the Cold Lake region, older residents report sharing this role. No significant relationship is manifested in Edmonton. These findings may indicate that shared housekeeping tends to vary across the family life cycle. Initial sharing may occur among younger couples, less sharing during the child-rearing years, and increased sharing in the retirement phase when husbands are likely to spend more time around the home.

Religious preference and involvement. Religious preferences and involvements have virtually no relationship with sharing the domestic role. This is clearly the case in Ft. McMurray and Edmonton. In Cold Lake, a small, significant correlation occurs with the frequency of religious involvement, which is negatively related to shared domestic duties (.09). This may be due to a higher level of religious involvement among older, rural residents. The significant relationship between the religiosity index and less sharing of the

domestic role in Cold Lake reflects the impact of conservative religious affiliation on the religiosity indicator (.41, Table 5.2).

Gender of respondent. Husbands tend to report that domestic chores are shared in the Cold Lake (.19) and Edmonton (.12) samples, but not in Ft. McMurray. Men tend to perceive greater sharing of both the provider and domestic roles than do the female respondents. Husbands may be influenced in their perception of role patterns by the social desirability of marital role sharing. The less reporting of domestic role sharing in Ft. McMurray may be due to the younger-age of respondents, or to a general lack of marital role sharing in this frontier community.

Economic-resource predictors

Employment status of wife. Wife's full-time employment is significantly and positively correlated with the sharing of the domestic role. This is the case in all three communities: Ft. McMurray (.26), Cold Lake (.26), and in Edmonton (.19). The employment status of the wife has considerable influence on role sharing in the home.

Income. Income appears to be related to role sharing for wife's income, but not for husband's income. The greater the wife's income, the greater the sharing of household duties. This pattern is repeated in all three communities: Ft. McMurray (.26), Cold Lake (.18) and Edmonton (.24). As their income increases, wives would appear to exert a greater influence on the sharing of household duties. Husband's income, however, is related to

role sharing only in the Cold Lake region, and this is a weak, inverse relationship (-.07). The consistent, but not statistically significant, direction of the relationship in Ft. McMurray would add some credence to the generalization that husband's lower income generates the sharing of household duties. While total household income is unrelated to domestic role sharing, the relative income ratio is significantly related in all communities: Ft. McMurray (-.25), Cold Lake (-.16) and Edmonton (-.14).

Household composition. Family composition affects shared domestic roles with smaller household size associated with greater role sharing. Consistent with this finding, fewer preschool children in the household also tends to be associated with shared housekeeping roles, though the relationship is significant only in Cold Lake (.07).

Again, the relative distribution of resources would appear to have an effect on the sharing of household responsibilities.

Subjective-utility predictors

Sex-role attitudes. Sex-role attitudes are significantly related to the sharing of the domestic role in Ft. McMurray and Edmonton, but not in Cold Lake. In Cold Lake, attitudes are generally less favourable to married women entering the labour force, particularly if they are the mothers of small children. In this community, sharing the provider role is also less dependent upon a wife's participation in the paid labour force. Attitudes toward marital roles and responses regarding the provider role are also affected by

age and by involvement in farming. These factors operating in interaction with one another may account for the lack of association between sex-role attitudes and the sharing of the domestic role among Cold Lake residents.

Summary

The findings again indicate that the relative distribution of resources between husbands and wives are major factors affecting the sharing of household responsibilities. The educational attainment of a wife positively influences her employment status. The wife's employment positively affects income, and the sharing of the provider role, which in turn are positively related to sharing household duties. The resources of education, employment and income tend to have positive influences on the sharing of the provider and domestic roles. These factors tend to be negatively associated with household size and the presence of pre-school children in the household. As familial responsibilities increase, the sharing of marital roles tends to decrease.

These findings are most consistent with the general expectations of the economic-resource theory. The educational attainment of wives distinguishes between those households which favour larger family size and those which opt for the wife's involvement in the labour force. Sex-role attitudes would appear to function as an intervening variable between age and education, and marital role enactments. These familial or labour force involvements respectively affect shared housekeeping. Younger age and higher educational attainment tend to be associated with more progressive sex-role attitudes,

involvement of the wife in a job and with shared housekeeping.

In the previous two sections, zero-order relationships between predictor variables and the provider and domestic roles respectively have been reported. Before turning attention to a multiple regression analysis of these associations, the unique pattern of role sharing in the Cold Lake region warrants further examination.

5.2.3. Marital roles in Community Context

As indicated, the sharing of the provider role is more predominant in the Cold Lake region than in the other two communities, an unexpected finding. This finding gives rise to three possible interpretations: 1). That the predominance of the shared provider role may be attributed to the presence of a significant population of farm families in the Cold Lake region. These families are likely to report sharing the provider role, even in the absence of the wife's involvement in the labour force. 2). It may also be that sharing the provider role by Cold Lake couples is due to the high proportion of older residents in this region, who share the provider role either because they are retired, or that they are also farming households. 3). Another possible interpretation is that this pattern is due to the common observation that shared marital roles tend to vary over the life cycle of the family, with greater sharing at the establishment and retirement stages; that is, that the relationship between age and marital roles is curvilinear.

To examine the first observation, the Cold Lake regional sample was divided into those households in which there is farming activity, and those in which there is no farming. This division was crosstabulated with respondent's age and the provider role categories. The findings are presented in Table 5.6.

Examining first the relationship between farming and non-farm families and the sharing of the provider role, 27.2% of the Cold Lake regional sample is involved in some farming. [1] Whereas 33.1% of the total sample indicate sharing the provider role, 40.1% of those engaged in farming, and 30.4% of non-farm households, indicate role sharing. Farming couples are more likely to share the provider role than are non-farming couples.

Turning attention to the matter of age distribution and its effects on role sharing, 298 respondents, precisely 50% in the Cold Lake region sample, are aged 40 or over. Within this group, 133 (44.6%) share the provider role compared with 33.1% for the total sample. Age contributes even more than farming to the high proportion of households in which the provider role is shared.

When farming and higher age are combined, there is a significant

[1]Of the 605 households in the Cold Lake region sample, 99 are from Cold Lake, 154 from Grande Centre, 51 from nearby Villages, 122 from Bonnyville and 179 from Rural areas. In Cold Lake, Grande Centre and Bonnyville, farming families constitute less than 5% of those interviewed. In the Villages, 15.7% are engaged in farming. And in the Rural area surveyed fully 78.2%, 140 households, are involved in farming, 23.1% of the total Cold Lake region sample.

Table 5.6 **Crosstabulation of shared provider role by age and by farm/non-farm families for Cold Lake Region respondents.**

	Farming Involvement of Family													
	No Farming						Some Farming						Totals	
	Age 17-39		Age 40-Hi		Total		Age 17-39		Age 40-Hi		Total		Totals	
Provider Role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband Entirely	92	39.3	49	24.5	141	32.5	27	42.2	23	23.5	50	30.9	191	32.0
Husband More	93	39.7	68	34.0	161	37.1	22	34.4	25	25.5	47	29.0	208	34.9
Shared or Wife More	49	20.9	83	41.5	132	30.4	15	23.4	50	51.0	65	40.1	197	33.1
Row Totals		53.9		46.1		72.8		39.5		60.5		27.2		100.0
Column Totals	234	100.0	200	100.0	434	100.0	64	100.0	98	100.0	162	100.0	596	100.0

Chi-square	- Farm x Roles	5.67	2 d.f.	p = 0.0587
	- No Farm x Age	23.23	2 d.f.	p = 0.0000
	- Some Farm x Age	12.78	2 d.f.	p = 0.0017

interaction effect. Of the 98 households that engage in farming and in which the respondent is 40 or older, 50 (51%) indicate that the provider role is shared. Thus the surprising finding that the Cold Lake regional sample is characterized by the highest proportion of role sharing when compared with Ft. McMurray and Edmonton can be accounted for by the large proportion of older respondents, and by the high proportion of farm couples. Yet in the Cold Lake region, fewer households indicate that the wife is employed in the labour force. In these cases, the role of provider is somewhat distinct from the employment status of the wife.

The third suggestion above posits that the sharing of the provider role may vary over the family and marital life cycle, in a curvilinear fashion, with greater role sharing at the establishment and retirement phases. The situation in Cold Lake indicates greater role sharing as age increases, and in the farming segment. Earlier analysis established that there is little variability in role sharing in Ft. McMurray, and that Edmonton exhibited greater role sharing among younger couples.

The total samples for all three communities were grouped into three age categories: 17 - 29, 30 - 49, and 50 and over. These categories correspond approximately to developmental stages of the family life cycle: establishment, parental and post-parental. Table 5.7 indicates that larger household size is associated with younger age (-.13). Examining the percentage figures reveals that as the age group increases there is a decrease and then an increase in the proportion of households that have

Table 5.7 Household size by age groups, aggregated Alberta samples

	Age Groups							
	17 - 29		30 - 49		50-High		Total	
Household Size	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
2 persons only	128	34.8	79	14.0	154	55.8	361	29.9
3 or more persons	240	65.2	485	86.0	122	44.2	847	70.1
Row Totals		30.5		46.7		22.8		100.0
Column Totals	368	100.0	564	100.0	276	100.0	1208	100.0

Chi-square 160.51 4 d.f. p = 0.0000

only two persons, that is in which there are no children in the household. (Dividing the 17 - 29 and the 50 above groupings would undoubtedly show an even more marked pattern reflective of the family developmental cycle.)

Crosstabulation of the provider role by age groupings, however (cf. Table 5.8) does not indicate a curvilinear pattern. In both the early and middle age groupings, about a quarter of the households report equal sharing. The proportion increases to 42% in the 50 plus category. Households in which the husband is the primary or the sole provider, constitute approximately three quarters of the samples in the two youngest age groups, decreasing to 68% in the 50 and over group. Yet, crosstabulation of the wife's employment status with age groupings (Table 5.9) shows that the employment of wives systematically decreases as age increases. While the total sample is characterized by an increase in the sharing of the provider role with increased age, there is a decrease in full-time employment by wives as age increases.

Breakdown by communities, however, shows distinct patterns for both the employment of wives and for role sharing. Examining Table 5.10, about one third of the wives are employed full-time, with the highest proportion in Ft. McMurray (39.4%), a significantly smaller proportion in Edmonton (30.1%) and the smallest proportion in Cold Lake (28.4%). In Cold Lake, the pattern is somewhat curvilinear; in Ft. McMurray, there is no difference between the youngest and the middle aged groups, with a marked decline in the oldest group (which has only 4 cases); and in Edmonton, there is a strong

Table 5.8 **Crosstabulation of shared provider role by age categories, for aggregated Alberta samples**

	Age Groups							
	Age 17-29		Age 30-49		Age 50-High		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband only	141	39.0	190	33.9	92	34.7	423	35.6
Husband Mainly	132	36.5	237	42.2	61	23.0	430	36.2
Shared or Wife More	89	24.6	134	23.9	112	42.3	335	28.2
Row Totals		30.5		47.2		22.3		100.0
Column Totals	362	100.0	561	100.0	265	100.0	1188	100.0

Chi-square = 44.03 4 d.f. p = 0.000

Table 5.9 **Crosstabulation of wife's employment status by age groups, for aggregated Alberta samples**

Wife employed full-time	Age Groups							
	17-29		30-49		50-High		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	222	60.3	367	65.1	235	85.1	824	68.2
Yes	146	39.7	196	34.8	41	14.9	383	31.7
Row Totals		30.5		46.7		22.8		100.0
Column Totals	368	100.0	563	100.0	276	100.0	1207	100.0

Chi-square 50.65 4 d.f. $p = 0.000$

Table 5.10 Wife's employment status, by age and locale

	Percent Wives Employed Full-time								
	17-29		30-49		50-High		Total		
Community	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	r
Cold Lake	47	30.7	99	36.0	26	14.6	172	28.4	-.14
Ft. McMurray	55	40.7	67	39.4	4	26.7	126	39.4	n.s.
Edmonton	44	55.0	30	25.2	11	13.3	85	30.1	-.25
Total	146	39.7	196	34.8	41	14.9	383	31.7	-.16

negative linear relationship: as age increases, the proportion of wives employed full-time decreases. Thus there is no clear pattern for all communities. As the communities become increasingly urban, there is greater employment among the youngest segment. The urban situation could be seen as providing greater employment opportunities for women. In Ft. McMurray, however, there is a greater continuity in the employment pattern of married women over the age groups, and a higher proportion of wives employed for all age groups. These patterns could be interpreted as indicating that couples have moved to Ft. McMurray in order to seek employment and that such opportunities are available -- matters which shall be taken up again in the next chapter.

In Table 5.11 crosstabulations of the provider role by age group are presented for each sample community. Only the findings for those households indicating the full sharing of the provider role are presented. While there are few differences by age groups in role patterns among the Ft. McMurray couples, distinct patterns are evident for the other two communities. In the more rural Cold Lake region, sharing the provider role increases with age. For the urban Edmonton area sample, sharing the provider role tends to take on a curvilinear pattern. The suggested curvilinear pattern between sharing the provider role and developmental stages of the family life cycle would appear to be the case in the urban community, but is not the case in the rural nor in the rapidly growing resource community.

Table 5.11 Shared provider role, by age and locale

	Percent Sharing the Provider Role or Wife Only								
	17-29		30-49		50-High		Total		
Community	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	r
Cold Lake	30	20.0	79	28.8	90	51.7	199	33.3	.23
Ft. McMurray	30	22.6	34	20.2	5	33.3	69	21.8	n.s.
Edmonton	29	36.3	21	17.6	17	22.4	67	24.4	.23
Total	89	24.6	134	23.9	112	42.3	335	28.2	.095

The community context, then, would appear to affect marital role patterns. In the rural sector, those households involved in farming tend to increase role sharing over the life cycle. In the rapidly developing resource community, there is little difference over the life cycle, with perhaps a curvilinear pattern of increased employment when children are older. [1] In the more urban community, the employment of married women is the factor most likely causing the curvilinear pattern of sharing of the provider role, with greater sharing in the younger years. As these date are cross-sectional, caution must be taken in assuming longitudinal change in role patterns over the family life cycle.

In summary, the unique conditions in both the rural and the resource communities give rise to distinct patterns of marital role sharing. In Cold Lake the distinct responses regarding sharing the provider role are largely a result of the unique relationships and roles of farming households; in Ft. McMurray the young age distribution as well as the employment opportunities are factors which influence marital role patterns. And in these communities, the meanings attached to "sharing the provider role" would also appear to take on distinct nuances. While seeking to identify those common factors which tend to influence marital role patterns, continuing attention to the community context is required.

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[1] The pattern in Ft. McMurray is difficult to ascertain due to the small number of cases in the 50 and over age category (cf. Table 5.11). The correlation between age and sharing the provider role is not significant, yet in the older age category there is a higher proportion of wives who are employed.

With the analysis of zero-order relationships now completed, the results of the multiple regression analysis are now reported. In the path analysis which concludes the chapter, and in the next chapter, these comments regarding the community context will be explored further.

5.3. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

In this section, the findings of multivariate analysis are reported. Multiple regression analysis enables the estimation of the simultaneous influence of a number of predictor variables on the variation of a dependent variable. The regression equation yields estimates of the contribution of each separate predictor variable to a change in the slope of a dependent variable, holding constant the values of all other variables (Blalock, 1972; Edwards, 1976). Using regression procedures, the effect of each predictor variable on shared marital roles can be calculated controlling for all other factors entered into the equation.

To examine the resiliency of the zero-order relationships reported in the previous section, all predictor variables were entered into the regression calculations with the exception of those that are direct derivatives of other variables. These derivative variables were eliminated to avoid problems of multicollinearity. The variables measuring total social relationships and the friend/kin ratio were left out, retaining the primary components of these variables, that is visits with neighbours, kin, or friends. Similarly the religiosity index was not included in the regression analysis as it is a

product of the religious conservatism and religious participation variables. Total family income and the ratio of husband's to wife's income also were not included as they are derived from husband's income and wife's income, factors which are included in the regression. [1] Only the indicator of attitudes toward married women working is included in the regression, as the item for attitudes toward mothers with small children being employed, a component of the sex-role attitude index, was not included in the Edmonton questionnaire.

Separate regression equations were calculated for the provider and domestic roles for each community, and for the combined data from all communities. The findings are displayed in Tables 5.4 - 5.5, and are reported in separate sections for the provider and the domestic roles.[2]

5.3.1. Shared provider role

Very few of the predictor variables have a direct effect on sharing the provider role (Table 5.4, Beta coefficients).

Normative-reference group variables

For the total sample, sharing the provider role is significantly associated

[1] Including FKIN and INCRAT would have been an alternative approach.

[2] When comparing across communities comparisons of the unstandardized beta coefficients (B) are used, as the standardized beta coefficients (Beta) control for the standard deviation of each variable. Since the deviations of each variable will differ in each sample, unstandardized beta coefficients are most appropriate for comparison between samples (Nie et al., 1975).

with the following: visits with kin; visits with friends; less educational attainment by husbands; increased age; and among male respondents. In the Cold Lake regional sample, number of visits with kin (.06), and with friends (.06) increased age (.12), husband's lower educational attainment (-.17), and reporting by male respondents (.14) persist as significant predictors of sharing the provider role. Only lower educational attainment by husbands is significantly related to sharing the provider role in the Ft. McMurray (-.13) and the Edmonton (-.15) samples.

These findings tend to minimize the direct effects of social reference associations on marital role relationships. The relationships which emerge highlight the unique situation in the Cold Lake sample, in which sharing the provider role would appear to occur among older couples in which the husband has limited educational attainment. Furthermore, within this segment of the population, there is considerable social involvement, both with kin and with friends. This would indicate a high degree of embeddedness within the social networks of the community. Again, it is the older-aged, farming component of the community in which the greatest sharing of the provider role occurs. In the other two communities, there is little indication that social relationships have any direct effects on patterns of role allocation.

Economic-resource variables

The economic resource predictors tend to be significantly related to the sharing of the provider role. For all communities combined, this is the case for wife employed (.34), inversely with husband's income (-.12), positively

with wife's income (.17), and inversely with the number of preschool children (-.09). The significant relationship with wife employment persists for Cold Lake (.38) and Ft. McMurray (.30), but is not significant in Edmonton (.13), though the direction of the association is as predicted. The inverse relationship with husband's income persists in Edmonton (-.15) and Cold Lake (-.12), but not in Ft. McMurray (-.03). Wife's income positively influences the sharing of the provider role in all communities (though the F ratio is not significant in Edmonton where income data were estimated). Though having preschool children is inversely related to sharing the provider role in each community separately, the relationships are not significant.

These findings substantiate the expectation that when a wife is actually employed, respondents are likely to indicate that the provider role is shared. Less income by a husband and greater income by a wife are also factors associated with role sharing. Having preschool children would appear to inhibit the sharing of the provider role, though the significance of this association is suppressed when the actual labour force involvement of the wife is included in the regression. The strong relationship between wife's participation in the labour force and sharing the provider role tends to reduce the effects of other causal factors as well.

Subjective-utility variable

In the combined samples, when attitudes are favourable to married women working, there is a greater likelihood that the provider role is actually shared (.08). This relationship is significant for only the Edmonton segment,

however. The effect of attitudes would appear to be minimal when compared with other factors, with sex-role attitudes highly dependent upon the age, sex, and education of the respondent.

Summary

Explained variation of the shared provider role differs in the three communities: with R squared equal to .36 in Ft. McMurray, .30 in Edmonton, .39 in Cold Lake and .32 overall (cf. Table 5.4). For the combined samples, wife's employment is the strongest predictor, followed by wife's income. Husband's income and education are inversely related to sharing the provider role. As age increases, there is a greater tendency to role share. Having fewer preschool children and smaller family size are also associated with greater role sharing. Role sharers would appear to interact more frequently with friends and relatives, but not with neighbours. And husbands perceive greater role sharing than wives.

Patterns are somewhat different in the three communities considered separately. In Cold Lake, patterns are most similar to those of the overall sample, with wife employed full-time, respondent's age, lower husband's education and income, higher wife's income, association with kin and friends, and male respondent emerging as significant factors. In Ft. McMurray, on the other hand, the income of the wife is the strongest factor, closely followed by the employment status of the wife. Husband's educational attainment is inversely related to sharing the provider role. In Edmonton, wife's income is also the strongest predictor, followed by

positive attitudes toward wife employment and inversely with husband's educational attainment. Associations with wife's employment status would appear to be reduced, as wife's income is derived from this factor.

The greater explained variance in the Cold Lake sample is likely due to the broader age range and larger sample size. The most significant finding is that whereas the employment of the wife is the major contributor to role sharing in the Cold Lake region, the income of the wife takes on greater importance in the younger-aged Ft. McMurray sample, and in Edmonton (though the findings in Edmonton must be discounted somewhat due to the interaction between the wife employed and wife income variables). Only in the Cold Lake region is the presence of preschool children a significant factor.

Again the significant influence of the economic-resource factors on role sharing is readily apparent in contrast to the socialization or attitudinal explanations. Given the fairly small explained variation, however, many other factors would appear to be required to adequately account for the social roots of sharing the provider role.

5.3.2. Shared domestic role

The multiple regression coefficients for the relationships between the predictor variables and the domestic role are displayed in Table 5.5. These

findings tend to confirm the significant influence of a wife being employed on the sharing of the domestic role. In Ft. McMurray, this is the only factor, in fact, that continues to have a significant association when other factors are controlled (.18). Indeed, in this community, the many factors would appear to "cancel out" one another, with even the association with wife's employment being reduced.

In the Cold Lake region, wife's employment status is the primary factor associated with sharing the domestic role (.27). Smaller family size also enhances domestic role sharing (-.10). It is important to note that domestic role sharing also increases with age (.17), and when husbands respond (.11). These findings again manifest the unique situation in Cold Lake where older, likely farming wives, are viewed as sharing the marital roles. Retired husbands may be more available to share domestic tasks. In Cold Lake, associating with kin is also related to sharing the domestic role (.12). Kin associations are more frequent with younger-age groups in all communities. This anomalous finding may be accounted for by greater familialism in the more rural Cold Lake region. It may also point to a curvilinear or bimodal pattern of domestic role sharing -- among younger couples, and among older couples, a pattern typical of female labour force participation.

The findings for the Edmonton sample are influenced markedly by the income of wives (.55) These findings may be distorted, however, as wives' income data were estimated on the basis of employment status. The effect of this procedure has reduced the association with wife's employment

status, (from r = -.50 to Beta = -.36) Thus these findings must be discounted as suspect, an artificial result of the income estimates. In each of the other samples, the wife's employment status rather than level of income appears to be the primary factor that influences household role sharing. Other factors in the Edmonton sample associated with sharing domestic tasks are increased age (.29), lower husband's income (-.14), and the attitude toward married women working in paid employment (.21).

In the Cold Lake region, significant factors associated with sharing the domestic role are: visits with kin (.12), increased age (.17), male respondent (.11), female employment (.27), and smaller family size (-.10). With the exception of kin associations, these findings tend to be consistent with those for sharing the provider role, and suggest that when the wife is employed and shares the provider role, there is a greater likelihood that domestic tasks will also be shared. This association is more likely to occur if the family size is smaller, and if attitudes favour wife employment, among older couples; and if the husband's income is limited.

The explained variation of the shared domestic role is less than for the provider role: .17 in Ft. McMurray, .14 in Cold Lake, .16 in Edmonton, and .11 overall. It is apparent that a wife being employed outside the home is associated with sharing the housekeeping role, independent of other factors. In the total sample, respondent's age, smaller family size, husband's lower income, positive sex-role attitudes and associations with kin are also significant factors. Overall, husbands rather than wives report greater sharing

of domestic tasks.

In Edmonton, the artificial construction of the data for wife's income would appear to have greatly distorted the relationships. The employment status of the wife becomes an inverse relationship, with the wife's income emerging as the dominant factor. In Cold Lake, age, sex, smaller family size and wife's educational attainment are significant factors whereas in Ft. McMurray only the full employment of the wife remains as a consistent factor. While the larger sample size in Cold Lake contributes to these differences, the findings reflect somewhat differing social fabrics in the communities.

In the younger-aged population of Ft. McMurray, shared roles would appear to occur among younger couples with few family obligations, in which the wife is employed. Within this younger population, attitudes are generally favourable to role sharing, so this factor does not differentiate distinct patterns of role sharing. In the older-aged Cold Lake and Edmonton samples, role sharing tends to increase with age, with smaller family size, and when the wife is fully employed. This tends to reflect a pattern of role sharing at a later stage in the family life cycle. In Ft. McMurray and Cold Lake, the association with lower husband's income would seem to reflect the fact that wives are working out of necessity, and more domestic role sharing results. Again the small proportion of explained variation would suggest that additional factors need to be considered in order to provide a more complete accounting of shared domestic marital

roles.

5.4. PATH ANALYSIS

Further exploration of the causal relationships among predictor factors, and their effects on the dependent variables has been accomplished by means of path analysis. Path analysis is a method in which a causal model is constructed employing standardized beta coefficents. After arranging the various predictor factors in a rough causal order, these measures are employed to represent relationships, statistically controlling for the effects of other causal variables. Path analysis is a procedure which seeks to represent a series of causal relationships, and by which the cumulative effects of a number of causal factors may be analysed.

Though primarily of heuristic value, path analysis may also be employed to test hypotheses. The causal model consists of a series of such hypotheses, tested through a set of regression equations. The use of standardized beta coefficients provides a common means of comparing factors which have been measured using differing scales or indicies. Path analysis has been fruitfully applied to family studies (Schumm et al., 1980) and forms the underlying assumptions of the theory construction models employed by Burr et al. (1979).

5.4.1. Path Model

The regression analysis reported in the last section isolated nine factors which would appear to influence the sharing of marital roles. These factors are: age of respondent, wife's education, husband's education, attitudes toward wife employment, household size, number of preschool children in the household, employment status of wife, income of the husband, and the income of the wife. These factors would appear to have a cumulative effect on the sharing of marital roles, and were used to construct the model illustrated in Figure 5.1.

This causal model highlights the role of wife's educational attainment as the primary factor which affects the sex-role preferences of couples. Lower age and less education tend to be associated with greater family involvement, characterized by larger family size, more preschool children, less likelihood that wives enter the labour force, and less sharing of the provider and domestic roles. A dual earner pattern is more likely with younger-aged, and better educated wives, which results in smaller households, greater involvement of wives in paid employment, and greater sharing of the provider and domestic roles. relationships between factors with

In constructing the path model, regression coefficients less than .10 were eliminated from the model for the sake of simplicity. The general prediction is that all relationships will be significant. The model was tested

by calculating the results of the regression equations listed in Table 5.12.

5.4.2. Path Model Findings

The model was initially tested using the combined samples from all three communities. Findings for the combined samples are reported in Table 5.13, and noted on Figure 5.1. [1]

Sharing the domestic role is associated most strongly with sharing the provider role. Other direct effects are the wife being employed, and smaller household size. [2]

Sharing the provider role is most strongly influenced by wife's employment. The absence of preschool children, increased income of the wife and lesser income by the husband are also direct effects. [3]

---

[1] Additional tests were run separately for the husband and wife sub-samples to examine for differing gender-role perceptions (Figure 5.2); and each of the communities was analysed separately (Figure 5.3). In all analyses, the model fits the actual findings, with slight variations between husbands and wives, and among the three communities. As standardized beta coefficients do not permit meaningful comparisons between the path models, these comparisons are reported in footnotes only. It had been anticipated that attitudes would have a direct effect on domestic role sharing, but this there was no relationship when other variables were controlled.

[2] Patterns are similar for each of the husband only and wife only analyses, and for the Cold Lake sample. In the Ft. McMurray sample, the influence of sharing the provider role and of smaller household size is somewhat greater. In Edmonton, the effects of wife employment and of household size are somewhat suppressed, possibly an artifact of the construction of the income variables.

[3] In estimating the provider role, there would appear to be some perceptual differences between the female and male respondents. While the influence

Table 5.12 Regression equations for path model

1. $\text{DOMESTIC } (X_1) = a_1 + b_{12}\,\text{PROVIDER } (X_2) + b_{14}\,\text{WEMPLOY } (X_4) + b_{17}\,\text{FAMSIZE } (X_7)$
2. $\text{PROVIDER } (X_2) = a_2 + b_{23}\,\text{WINC } (X_3) + b_{24}\,\text{WEMPLOY } (X_4) + b_{26}\,\text{PRESCH } (X_6) + b_{27}\,\text{HUSINC } (X_7)$
3. $\text{WINC } (X_3) = a_3 + b_{34}\,\text{WEMPLOY } (X_4)$
4. $\text{WEMPLOY } (X_4) = a_4 + b_{45}\,\text{ATWOMWK } (X_5) + b_{46}\,\text{PRESCH } (X_6) + b_{49}\,\text{WEDUC } (X_9)$
5. $\text{ATWOMWK } (X_5) = a_5 + b_{59}\,\text{WEDUC } (X_9) + b_{5,11}\,\text{RAGE } (X_{11})$
6. $\text{PRESCH } (X_6) = a_6 + b_{67}\,\text{FAMSIZE } (X_7) + b_{6,11}\,\text{RAGE } (X_{11})$
7. $\text{FAMSIZE } (X_7) = a_7 + b_{79}\,\text{WEDUC } (X_9) + b_{7,11}\,\text{RAGE } (X_{11})$
8. $\text{HUSINC } (X_8) = a_8 + b_{8,10}\,\text{HEDUC } (X_{10}) + b_{8,11}\,\text{RAGE } (X_{11})$
9. $\text{WEDUC } (X_9) = a_9 + b_{9,11}\,\text{RAGE } (X_{11})$
10. $\text{HEDUC } (X_{10}) = a_{10} + b_{9,11}\,\text{RAGE } (X_{11})$

Table 5.13 Path coefficients for combined samples

		Independent Variables										
Dependent Variables		X_{11}	X_{10}	X_9	X_8	X_7	X_6	X_5	X_4	X_3	X_2	X_1
X_{11}	RAGE	-										
X_{10}	HEDUC	-.45	-									
X_9	WEDUC	-.39		-								
X_8	HUSINC	-.18	.17		-							
X_7	FAMSIZE	-.21		-.11		-						
X_6	PRESCH	-.33				.35	-					
X_5	ATWOMWK	-.23		.14				-				
X_4	WEMPLOY			.24			-.20	.23	-			
X_3	WINC								.49	-		
X_2	PROVIDER				-.17		-.17		.30	.19	-	
X_1	DOMESTIC					-.11		.14			.23	-

Variable definitions:

RAGE	Respondent's age
HEDUC	Husband's educational attainment
WEDUC	Wife's educational attainment
HUSINC	Husband's income
FAMSIZE	Household size
PRESCH	Number of preschool children in the household
ATWOMWK	Attitude toward employment of wives
WEMPLOY	Wife is employed full-time
WINC	Wife's income
PROVIDER	Couple share earning family income
DOMESTIC	Couple share housekeeping

Figure 5.1 Path model of shared marital roles, for aggregated Alberta samples

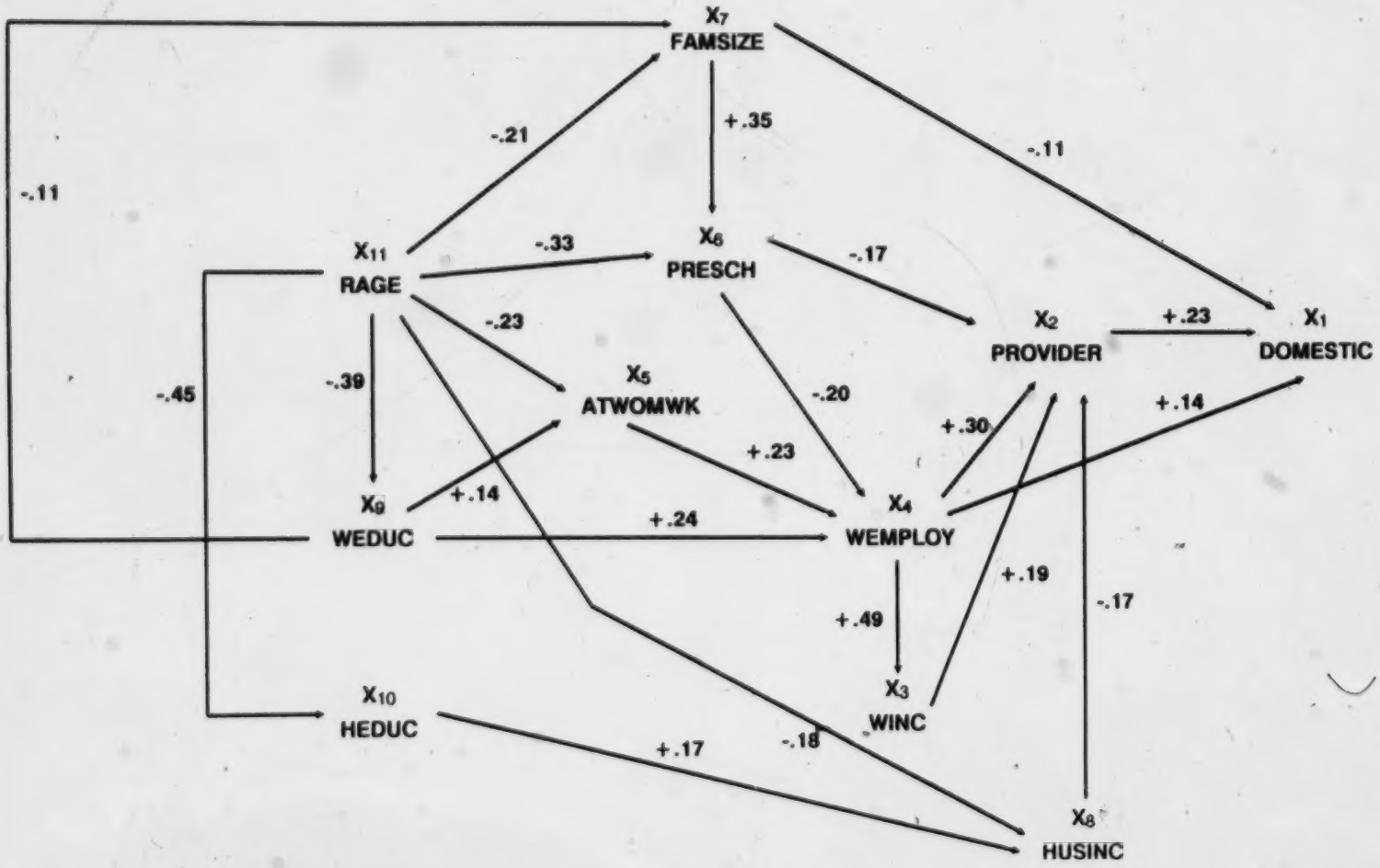
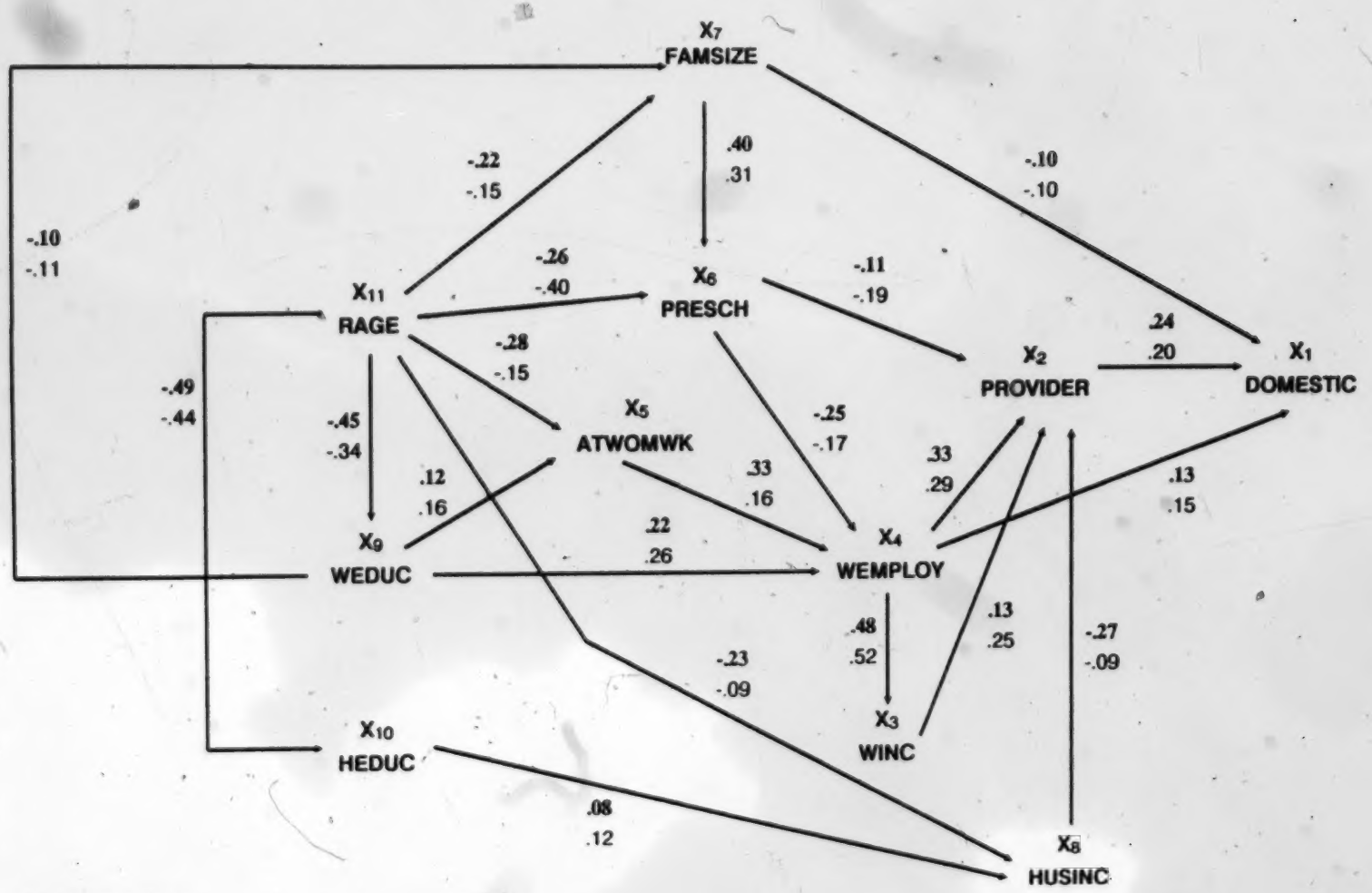
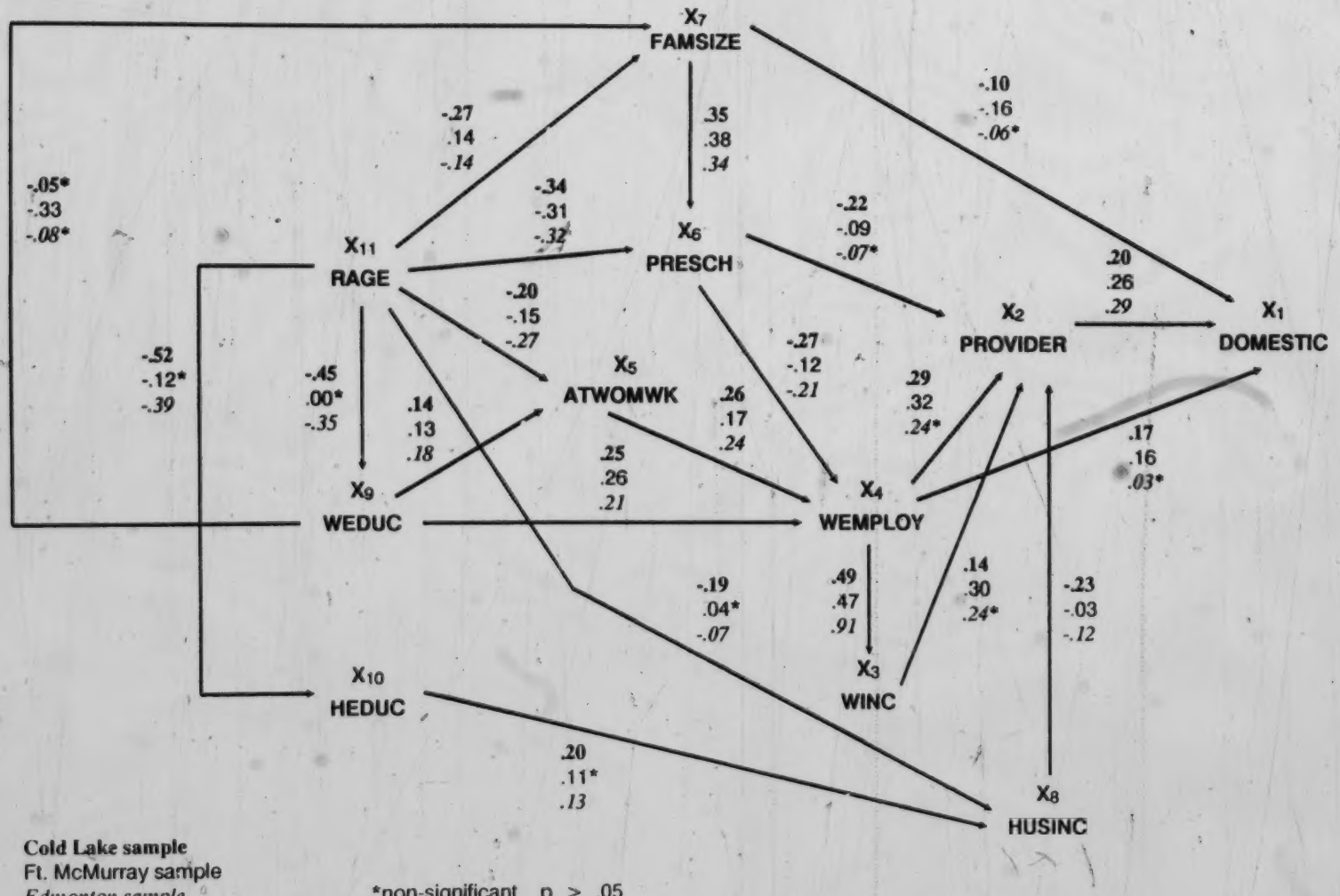


Figure 5.2 Path model of shared marital roles, male and female respondents separately, aggregated Alberta samples



Male respondents
Female respondents

Figure 5.3 Path model of shared marital roles, Alberta communities separately



Cold Lake sample
Ft. McMurray sample
Edmonton sample

*non-significant p > .05

Wife's income is directly related to the employment status of the wife. [1] While knowledge of a wife's employment status is the major predictor of sharing the provider role, including the direct and indirect effects of the wife's income adds to the completeness of the model.

Employment status of the wife is directly affected by the wife's educational attainment, attitude toward a wife being employed, and inversely with having preschool children in the household. The educational attainment of wives has a significant positive influence on their employment. [2]

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[0](cont'd) of wife's employment and preschool children are similar for both sexes, the effect of income differs between the husband-only and wife-only sub-sample models. For females, the effect of their earnings is greater when reporting the sharing of the provider role, and the effect of the husband's income level somewhat less. In the male-only sub-sample the effects are reversed: a smaller relationship between wife's earnings and the provider role, and a larger, inverse relationship between sharing the provider role and husband's earnings. For each of the sexes, then, there is a tendency to report sharing the provider role according to their own income level.

In the more youthful Ft. McMurray sample, the influence of wife's income on shared provider role is even stronger, with less variation with the husband's income. These patterns would reflect the relatively secure incomes of males in Ft. McMurray, and the greater tendency to report sharing the provider role as the wife's income increases. The relationship between having preschool children in the household and sharing the provider role is not as strong for Ft. McMurray couples as compared to couples in Cold Lake, and in the combined samples. In the younger-aged Ft. McMurray community, having preschool children is less of an inhibitor to sharing the provider role than in the other communities. This finding will be explored in more depth in the final chapter. In the Edmonton sample, again the effects of the income variables are obscured as they were estimated from the wife's employment status.

[1] This is the case in all communities. In Edmonton, in which wife's income was derived from wife's employment status, the relationship is an instance of multicollinearity.

[2] Comparing husbands and wives, husband's attitude toward wives being employed has a stronger effect than wife's attitude, particularly if there are no preschool children in the family. For the Ft. McMurray sample, sex-role

Attitude toward wife's employment is directly affected by wife's educational attainment and inversely with the respondent's age. [1]

Having preschool children in the household is associated with younger age, and with larger household (family) size. [2]

Household size is an indirect measure of family size, and is larger when respondents are younger and have less education.

Educational attainment of wives and of husbands varies inversely with the age of the respondent. [3]

Income of husbands varies with the age and education of the husband. [4]

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[0](cont'd) attitudes and the presence of preschool children are less likely to affect the employment status of the wives.

[1] In all samples, attitudes toward wives being employed is more favourable among the younger and more highly educated respondents. There are marked differences in these relationships, however, by the gender of the respondent. For female respondents, the relationship between their educational attainment and sex-role attitudes is stronger than for male respondents. Females are also less likely to vary in their attitudes with age, whereas there is a wider variation within the male only sub-sample. The reported relationships are also less pronounced in the younger-aged Ft. McMurray community sample.

[2] The relationship with younger age is more pronounced among female respondents. Otherwise patterns of relationships are similar for all communities sampled.

[3] There is less variation among the younger-aged Ft. McMurray respondents, and the relationship between age and wife's education is not significant.

[4] These factors are less influencial in Ft. McMurray where the average age is lower, and also in Edmonton, where husbands' incomes have been estimated.

5.4.3. Summary

In summary, the findings conform to the proposed model, though not all relationships are significant in the separate communities. Patterns of domestic and provider role sharing are affected by the cumulative effects of a number of exogenous predictor variables, and intervening factors. Age and educational attainment are the primary causal influences which affect consequent life choices. Sharing the provider role is more likely in families in which the wife is employed, with greater income provided by the wife, less by the husband, and with having fewer child-rearing obligations. The wife's employment status is affected by greater education, more favourable attitudes toward married women being employed, and fewer child-rearing responsibilities. The attitude of the husband toward wife's being employed would appear to be a key factor. Further research might fruitfully examine those factors which affect the sex-role attitudes of males.

The path analyses have been useful for developing a general causal model. Refinement of the model could be accomplished with the present data by adjusting the model through the elimination of some factors. The strong relationship between household size and the presence of preschool children in the household might suggest the combining of these factors, or perhaps the elimination of the household size variable. Furthermore, the dependence of wife's income upon the employment variable might suggest the elimination of this factor. The effect of husband's education on sex-role

attitudes might also have been included in the model.[1]

5.5. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter findings have been reported which assess alternative social psychological explanations regarding family structure characteristics and spousal attributes which affect the sharing of marital roles. Three general approaches have been examined through the use of correlation and multiple regression analysis. From the multiple regression analysis, a comprehensive path model was constructed to integrate the various explanatory approaches. This path model was then tested empirically. These findings will now be summarized by discussing the validity of each of the propositions listed at the beginning of this chapter. In the concluding section of this chapter, the implications of the path model are examined, and the propositions revised.

5.5.1. Review of propositions

Propositions 6 - 13 were intended to test the influence of socialization and differential association on role sharing. The following propositions were tested:

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[1] While the model is instructive for each of the three communities examined, the smaller variation in the age structure of Ft. McMurray makes the model less effective in accounting for the variations in the marital role patterns in this community. Whereas the influence of having preschool children emerges as a major factor affecting role sharing, this factor is less pronounced in the path analysis. The elaboration of other factors could be useful in adequately accounting for the factors which affect the alternate influences or choices which contribute to the familial or the dual earner patterns.

6. The number of social contacts is positively associated with shared marital roles.

7. The ratio of friend/kinship contacts is positively associated with shared marital roles (that is, high friend/low kin contact is positively related to shared roles).

8. Educational attainment positively influences shared marital role enactment.

9. Age cohort inversely influences shared marital role enactment (younger-aged couples show greater egalitarian role patterns).

10. Religious participation is positively related to shared marital role enactment.

11. Religious liberalism positively influences shared marital role enactment.

12. The interaction of religious participation and liberalism positively influences shared marital role enactment.

13. Gender of respondent is associated with reports of marital role enactment, in that wives will tend to report greater provider role sharing than husbands report, while husbands will tend to report greater sharing of the housekeeping role than wives report.

Normative-Reference Group Theory

The normative-reference group approach is predicated on the assumption that the enactment of marital roles is influenced by normative expectations that are learned in social interaction with significant reference groups. Little support, however, has been found in this study for the notion that social relationships in general, or greater association with friends rather than kin, or religious commitments or involvements are significant factors which affect the sharing of either the provider or domestic roles. Propositions 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12 are rejected.

Perhaps one of the roots of this failure to find significant relationships is the nature of social networks as associations having multiple bonds among members. The data employed in this study include measures of social relationships, but do not probe network associations. The examination of socialization factors has also been limited in that the specific values and attitudes of various reference groups have not been identified, nor has attention been given to the learning environment and teaching methods which respondents have been exposed to. This sort of more definitive methodology would be required to provide an adequate test of the influence of significant others on the marital role patterns adopted by spouses.

The educational attainment of wives positively influences sharing of the provider role, but is not that significant for the domestic role. It would appear that increased education both liberalizes attitudes toward roles for women, and also provides a resource which can be used in the employment marketplace. The educational attainment of wives also tends to be associated with smaller family size, all factors which positively affect the sharing of the provider role. For the wives sampled, educational attainment is associated with sharing the domestic role only for those residing in the Cold Lake region.

Educational attainment by husbands is consistently related to less sharing of the provider role (at least in Cold Lake and Edmonton) and is not associated with sharing the domestic role. There would appear to be a

sex-linked interaction effect on the relationship between educational attainment and the sharing of the provider role, a positive relationship for wives, but an inverse relationship for husbands.

The categorization of educational attainment under the designation of the normative-reference group theory has assumed that educational attainment results in a degree of "enlightenment" and the acquisition of attitudes sympathetic to feminist concerns for equity in social relationships. It would appear that educational attainment does shape social attitudes toward greater acceptance of shared roles, but that attitudinal change in and of itself is insufficient to account for changes in behaviour.

Rather a more cogent explanation would appear to be that educational attainment increases the chances of a woman entering the labour force, that is provides a "resource," which contributes to bringing about a role change. Conversely, if a husband lacks educational resources, there is also a greater likelihood that he will be less able to be successful in the occupational marketplace. In such instances, the educational resource of the wife is drawn upon to enable her to seek employment, thus compensating for the deficient resources of the husband. Where the husband is successful occupationally, there is less necessity for the wife to seek paid employment and thus share in the provider function for the family unit. The key operative factor, therefore, would not appear to be socialization, roles learned and reinforced in reference group associations, but rather the resources gleaned to permit entry into the labour force. As rewards in the

workforce become accessible, women are less prone to view marital and family roles as the exclusive arena for expressing life goals.

Proposition 8, that educational attainment positively influences the sharing of marital roles, is only accepted in part. Educational attainment by wives positively affects the sharing of the provider role; but educational attainment by husbands tends to reduce the sharing of the provider role. The precise reason for this finding is uncertain. It is likely that the higher education of a husband also leads to greater income. The greater ability to provide for the family may lessen the necessity for a wife to seek employment to supplement the family income. When the occupational demands on a husband are heavy, for instance in management and professional roles, the family system may also be subjected to less stress if the wife is not employed. These notions would require further research.

In Proposition 9, it was predicted that greater role sharing would occur among younger-aged couples than among older-aged couples. Again the findings are more complex than anticipated. First, among the relatively youthful Ft. McMurray residents, age is associated with neither the provider nor the domestic role. As there is less variation in age in this relatively homogeneous population, this lack of association can be understood. Second, the expected association between younger age and greater role sharing is the case in the Edmonton sample for the provider role, but not the domestic role. But, third, in the Cold Lake region, sharing the provider role and the domestic role is associated with greater age. Again, we find

that the uniqueness of the farming segment of the region brings about distinct patterns of association and behaviour. As in Edmonton, the sharing of the domestic role tends to increase with age. The longer a couple is married, the greater the likelihood that household chores will be shared. As the incomes of husbands tend to level off, and as wives may resume employment, the increased relative resources of the wife may influence husbands to share more of the household duties. Those husbands who have entered retirement are also more available to take on household duties. Greater clarification of the relationship between age and the sharing of roles cannot occur without noting that female involvement in the labour force has generally been found to take on a curvilinear pattern with married women tending to be employed prior to and after the child-bearing years.

It is also of interest to note the distinct patterns of sharing the provider and domestic roles. Role sharing in the private and public domains is subject to discrete causes. Sharing of the provider role does not necessarily lead to sharing of the domestic role. While factors which affect the sharing of the provider role are understood fairly well, those factors which affect role sharing of household tasks require further examination. Lein (1979) has made a beginning in this task of exploring factors which affect the sharing of the domestic role by husbands. She has identified a number of barriers which currently work to create ambivalence for men to take up domestic responsibilities. Men lack the support networks to provide both moral and logistical encouragement in performing household tasks.

Further, because men perceive paid employment as their dominant role, there is reluctance to acknowledge that they need help in this function, or that household tasks are part of their responsibility. Consistent with the findings among Alberta couples that sharing of the domestic role tends to increase with age, Keith and Brubaker (1977) suggest that taking on household tasks by men may ease the transition to retirement.

Proposition 13. The gender of the respondent has been included in the regression equation to guard against possible gender-related bias in the reporting of role sharing. This is particularly a concern because the three samples differ in sex distribution, from 55% female in Cold Lake to 45% in Edmonton. Research has been cited which suggests that a social desirability factor enters into the reporting of role enactment self reports. The sex of the respondent is associated with the role sharing reports in this study, at least in the Cold Lake region and in Edmonton, in which men tend to report greater sharing of the provider role than do women. In Cold Lake, men are also more prone to report sharing of the domestic role as well. In both of these communities there is a higher average age than in Ft. McMurray, and age is positively associated with role sharing. Whatever the tendencies, the inclusion of gender in the regression analysis has attempted to control for this factor. Proposition 13, however, is not accepted. The findings give greater support for the tendency of husbands to report the sharing of the provider role than for wives; and husbands are more likely to report sharing domestic tasks than are wives, in the Cold Lake region. These findings may indicate that it is more socially acceptable for wives

to share the provider role than for husbands to share the domestic tasks. Husbands would appear to perceive greater role sharing than wives, although their attitudes may be less favourable.

Testing the normative-reference group approach has employed an array of indicators. Some of these indicators, such as age, education and gender, are only very general representations of reference groups. Others, such as kin and friend associations, tend to reflect social interactions only, which may or may not be adequate reflections of network associations.

The findings provide some evidence, however, that social reference associations do affect sex-role attitudes, and that these attitudes in turn are associated with marital role patterns. The propositions testing the normative-reference group theory proposed direct relationships between predictor variables and marital role sharing, but found few significant associations. An examination of the zero-order relationships finds significant and systematic associations between the normative-reference group indicators and attitudes toward wife's employment. [1]

The normative-reference group approach would appear to be valid if attitudes toward marital roles are viewed as intervening between reference

[1] Associations in the aggregated Alberta data between attitude toward wife's employment and normative-reference group predictor variables are: visits with friends (r = -.14), visits with kin (.07), total social contacts (-.07), friend/kin ratio of visits (-.05), wife's educational attainment (.21), husband's educational attainment (.22), sex of respondent, 0=female,1=male, (-.08), frequency of religious participation, 1=hi,4=lo, (.16), religious conservatism, 1=conservative, 4=liberal, (.10), respondent's age (-.28), with all relationships statistically significant.

group associations and the enactment of marital roles. For example, Brinkerhoff and MacKie (1985) found greater religiosity to be associated with more traditional gender attitudes in samples of Canadian and American students. These attitudes, in turn, affect the performance of these roles. Refarence group associations may also play a role in encouraging the educational aspirations of women -- a key factor which facilitates employment. Greater education is also positively associated with wife's employment status, a key factor in the sharing of household tasks.

The general conclusion of this section, then, is that the change in marital role patterns which has occurred in the 1970's is associated to some extent with a shift in the normative values of the culture. The differential associations of marital couples, particularly the effects of educational attainment and younger age, affect attitudes toward role sharing. As the following section will underline, the shift in marital role behaviours is also associated with altered relationships between the family and the economic structure, particularly the increased participation of women in the labour force.

Economic-Resource Theory

The findings of this study tend to give greatest support to the economic-resource approach. In this study, this approach is examined by testing the following propositions:

14. Wife's labour force involvement is positively associated with shared marital roles.

15. Husband's income is inversely associated with shared marital

roles; wife's income is positively associated with shared marital roles.

16. The presence of preschool children in the household is inversely associated with shared marital roles.

17. Family size is inversely associated with shared marital role enactment (the larger the family size, the less the role sharing).

Propositions 14, 15, 16 and 17 are supported by the findings. It is quite evident that the labour force status of the wife, and having fewer family obligations are the primary factors associated with sharing the provider role. When the wife's employment status is included in the regression analysis, it emerges as the strongest single predictor of sharing the provider role. The wife's employment status is the strongest predictor of sharing the domestic role as well, with smaller family size also a significant factor. These findings are reflective of greater role sharing at the child-free stages of marriage: the establishment phase, and the empty nest and retirement stages (Model, 1982).

In the case of both the provider and domestic roles, there is an inverse relationship between familial child-rearing roles, and involvement in the labour force by married women. Wife employment heightens the tendency to share the provider and domestic roles. Having children, increased family size, and the presence of preschoolers in the family, lead to a more traditional division of labour. The "two person career" continues to be a prevalent marital form, in which the wife's career or employment goals are subordinated to those of the husband (Papanek, 1979; Hunt and Hunt, 1982).

and both husband and wife are devoted to the single career of the husband.

These tendencies are affected somewhat by the life-cycle stage of the couple, with greater role sharing at the initial and concluding stages, when there are no children in the household. And the patterns are also affected somewhat by higher educational attainment by women and older generation, the common link being greater resources to take on shared marital responsibilities. A social class pattern is also reflected as sharing of the provider role is more likely to occur when the husband's income is limited. In a similar study of Edmonton residents using the Edmonton Area Sample for 1980, Lowe and Krahn (1983) conclude that it is situational rather than attitudinal factors which have primary influence on patterns of female employment. The findings reported in this study would tend to substantiate their observations.

Subjective-Utility Theory

This study has found attitudes toward female roles to be consistently associated with the sharing of roles. As postulated in Proposition 18: Egalitarian sex-role attitudes are positively associated with marital role sharing. These attitudes, however, are not the primary factors affecting role sharing. Rather, it is the economic rewards associated with female employment. It is precisely the absence of economic incentives which impedes greater sharing of domestic tasks as well. A combination of socialization, attitudinal and economic-resource factors provide greater

predictability in accounting for marital role sharing patterns.

The measures of sex-role attitudes examined in this study are not adequate indicators of the subjective-utility approach. An adequate examination of the intentionality of couples in their marital role patterns would require much more specific questions. These questions should probe the intentions and goals that spouses hold for their own relationships, rather than attitudes toward sex-roles in general. These questions might also probe the influence of these goals on such life choices as educational pursuits, occupational intentions, fertility decisions, and intended means to arrange both child-rearing and career. In making such choices, individuals and couples rationally weight alternatives, and give shape to their behaviours. Thus the communication and problem-solving resources of the couple would also be factors in sorting through marital and family goals.

The image of couples as rational, goal-orientated social units, directing their behaviours according to their values and resources, assessing outcomes, and working toward rewarding patterns, is an attractive model of marital decision-making. The data available for this study are quite limited to catch the interactional nuances of such a model. While sex-role attitudes have been found to partially explain marital role behaviours, the limited role of attitudes cannot be used as evidence to reject the notions of the "subjective-utility" approach. Such a conclusion must await a more adequate test of this theory.

5.5.2. Path model

The construction of the path analytical model has served to clarify the inter-related causal patterns among the independent and dependent variables, primarily by eliminating irrelevant factors, by differentiating exogenous and intervening variables, and by distinguishing between direct and indirect effects.

While marital role sharing is often considered a unidimensional phenomenon (eg. Scanzoni, 1972), this model differentiates two dimensions of shared marital roles -- the provider and domestic -- and thus is able to consider the distinct factors which may affect each role. The sharing of the provider role is a primary factor which influences the sharing of domestic tasks, irrespective of the community of the respondent's residence or the sex of the respondent. Greater familial obligations (such as larger household size or more preschool children) tend to reduce shared housekeeping. The failure of husbands to take up shared household responsibilities, even given the additional burden of parenthood on the family structure, is a major obstacle to the full equality of husband and wife roles. Family researchers must continue to examine the factors which impede or enhance role sharing in the household.

The construction of the path model also differentiates between wife's employment status and the sharing of the provider role. While wife's employment status is the primary factor affecting the response that the provider role is shared, the absence of even greater association between

these two variables exposes the perceptual character of "sharing the provider role." This concept includes an attitudinal or symbolic component, in addition to the behavioural referent postulated by Nye and his associates. The greater the immersion of a married woman in the labour force, the greater the likelihood that respondents indicate role sharing. Greater familial involvement, in terms of family size and the age of dependents, tends to decrease the sharing of this role. And to some extent, sharing the provider role may be compensatory for many couples: that is the lower the income of the husband, the greater the need for the partner to enter the paid labour force. The sharing of the provider role may involve considerable role conflict for a couple as they struggle with the demands of family career, husband's career and wife's career.

Further research on this topic would well focus on those conditions which influence married women to take up full-time employment in the labour force. The role of educational attainment has been identified in this study as a positive factor. Positive attitudes toward married women working also enhances this possibility -- particularly if the husband has a favourable attitude. Again, the compensatory motive is evident, with lower husband's income being associated with sharing the provider role. While the presence of preschool children in the family unit tends to inhibit wife's employment, this is not so much a cause of not entering or withdrawing from the labour force as it is evidence of a choice between giving priority to family demands or employment pursuits. Aside from identifying education and age as contributing factors, the model has failed to identify more

specific individual, attitudinal or interactional factors which influence couples in their choices between these alternate patterns, or the ways in which the familial and dual earner roles are combined.

The model is a useful general framework for understanding some of the factors which affect marital role sharing. The addition of other variables which affect the various sets of relationships can build upon this general framework.

Conclusions which may be derived from the path model are as follows:

1. Sharing the provider role influences sharing the domestic role, and this is a positive relationship.
2. Wife's employment influences sharing the domestic role, and this is a positive relationship.
3. Family size influences sharing the domestic role, and this is an inverse relationship.
4. Wife's employment influences sharing the provider role, and this is a positive relationship.
5. Wife's income influences sharing the provider role, and this is a positive reltionship.
6. The number of preschool children in the household influences sharing the provider role, and this is an inverse relationship.
7. Husband's income influences sharing the provider role and this is an inverse relationship.
8. Wife's employment influences wife's income, and this is a positive relationship.
9. Wife's educational attainment influences wife's employment, and this is a positive relationship.
10. Attitudes which favour married women being employed influence wife's employment, and this is a positive

relationship; and is influenced to a greater extent by the husband's attitude than by the wife's.

11. The number of preschool children in the household influences wife's employment, and this is an inverse relationship.

12. Educational attainment influences attitudes toward married women being employed, and this is a positive relationship.

13. Age influences attitudes toward married women being employed, and this is an inverse relationship. (younger age, more favourable attitude).

14. Educational attainment influences family size and the number of preschool children, and this is an inverse relationship.

15. Age influences family size and the number of preschool children, and this is an inverse relationship.

16. Age influences educational attainment, and this is an inverse relationship.

17. Husband's educational attainment influences husband's income, and this is a positive relationship.

18. Age influences husband's income,, and this is an inverse relationship.

In the following chapter, attention is given to how these factors which influence marital role sharing are affected by the particular conditions typical of rapidily growing resource communities. Of particular interest is the degree to which couples who migrate to Ft. McMurray experience obstacles to enacting shared marital role patterns.

CHAPTER 6. COMMUNITY CONTEXT AND MARITAL ROLE ALLOCATION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

6.1.1. Patterns of marital role allocation

The examination of patterns of marital role allocation reported in the previous two chapters has found that Ft. McMurray couples are the most traditional in the enactment of the provider role. The husband is the sole provider in over 40% of the households, compared with 36% in Edmonton and 32% in the Cold Lake region (cf. Table 4.1). While in the Cold Lake region fully a third of the couples are equal sharing, fewer than a quarter equally share the provider role in Ft. McMurray, even less than in Edmonton. The pattern is similar with regard to the domestic role, though not as extreme. In Ft. McMurray, 36% of wives take sole responsibility for the housekeeping responsibilities; in 50% there is some sharing, and equal sharing in only 14%. In Cold Lake a greater proportion falls into the most traditional category (41%), while the housekeeping tasks are not shared by 28% of the couples in Edmonton. For both the provider and domestic roles, then, Ft. McMurray couples show little role sharing. This finding is surprising given the relative youthfulness of the residents in this resource community.

This final chapter of findings addresses why this pattern occurs. What are the key factors which contribute to this conservatism among Ft. McMurray

couples? Is this pattern simply a result of the age composition of the community? Or, is the pattern due to limited employment opportunities which "block" or inhibit wives from the labour force? If this is the case, do those wives who are frustrated in their occupational aspirations show signs of dissatisfaction and alienation? Although this chapter cannot answer all of the above questions, it does seek to examine a number of factors specific to the community context which may have an impact on the marital role choices of couples.

6.1.2. Resource community factors

Migration to and residence in Ft. McMurray, a community which has grown rapidly due to resource development, presents specific conditions which may affect marital role sharing. Many of these characteristics are typical of single industry communities. The effects of the following conditions on marital role sharing are examined in this chapter: 1). the filtering process of migration which functions to select younger, better-educated migrants, who are disproportionately involved in child-rearing; 2). the frequency of moving and the effects of stress associated with migrating to and living in a boomtown; 3). the occupational distribution and employment opportunities; 4). the possible effects of overtime and shiftwork; and 5). satisfaction with community services. Some attention is also given to possible consequences of marital role patterns in terms of life satisfaction outcomes. The analysis of these characteristics may separate the life cycle from the community situation factors which influence marital roles, and give a clearer answer to

the question: Do stressful community conditions negatively affect sharing the marital roles?

The propositions examined in this chapter are as follows:

19. Migrants to Ft. McMurray are likely to be in the child-rearing stage of the family life cycle, which will be associated with less marital role sharing.

20. Migration is associated with less marital role sharing.

21. The number of stress events experienced is negatively associated with sharing marital roles.

22. Participation by wives in the decision to move is positively associated with marital role sharing.

23. In resource communities, limited employment opportunities for women are negatively associated with marital role sharing.

24. Employment overtime and shiftwork of husbands will be negatively associated with shared marital roles.

25. Feelings of powerless and alienation by wives are negatively associated with sharing the marital roles.

26. Dissatisfaction with community services and conditions is inversely related to shared marital roles.

6.2. RESOURCE COMMUNITY CONDITIONS

6.2.1. Migration as a selection process

Research literature on resource communities has noted that boomtowns tend to attract the younger, more mobile and often more educated segment of the population (Riffel, 1975). In fact, it is this segment of society in

general that is most prone to migrate (Richmond, 1969). To the extent that this is the case in Ft. McMurray, role sharing may in fact be a product of life cycle stage, that is that those in the "expansionist" phase of marriage are simultaneously having children, and are willing to move in order to advance career opportunities and economic returns. A comparison of selected demographic characteristics of the three communities indicates the younger age, higher educational level, and greater number of preschool children in the Ft. McMurray households (cf. Table 6.1), where 40% are in the primary child-bearing years, aged 20-29, compared with 28% in Edmonton and 23% in Cold Lake.

The filter effect of younger couples migrating to Ft. McMurray is indeed a distinctive characteristic of the community, and certain to be a primary cause of the relatively low level of role sharing in this community, supporting Proposition 19.: Migrants to Ft. McMurray are likely to be in the child-rearing stage of the family life cycle, which will be associated with less marital role sharing.

The high proportion of couples involved in child-rearing in Ft. McMurray is also reflected in the larger household size compared with the other communities. The central question is whether the traditional role patterns of Ft. McMurray couples is a product of the migratory selection process, or of the conditions which exist in Ft. McMurray which might inhibit the performance of shared roles.

Table 6.1 Comparison of selected demographic characteristics by community

Characteristics	Community		
	Ft. McMurray	Cold Lake	Edmonton
Mean age of residents	32.50	42.10	41.10
Mean household size	3.82	3.56	3.30
Mean number of preschool children per household	.63	.43	.33
Husbands' mean educational attainment*	7.05	5.87	6.73
Wives' mean educational attainment*	6.94	6.14	6.63

*6 = high school incomplete

7 = high school completed

Table 6.2 **Relationship between sharing the provider role and having preschool children, by age groups for the three communities**

	Ft. McMurray			Cold Lake			Edmonton			All Communities		
Age Group	N	%	r	N	%	r	N	%	r	N	%	r
17-29	135	59.5	-.29*	153	63.1	-.43*	80	33.7	-.29*	362	54.6	-.40*
30-39	122	50.8	-.30*	150	41.3	-.31*	71	52.1	-.29*	340	46.9	-.31*
40-59	60	15.0	-.10*	208	9.7	.01	90	6.7	-.02	355	9.2	-.01
60 & over	7	0.0	-	96	0.0	-	48	6.2	-.03	142	2.0	-.07
All ages	324	46.3	-.26*	607	29.8	-.33*	289	25.3	-.17*	1190	32.6	-.28*

* significance: $p < .05$

Table 6.2 compares the age distribution and presence of preschool children in the family for all communities. In Ft. McMurray 46.3% of the households have preschool children compared with 29.8% in the Cold Lake region, and 23.3% in Edmonton. The relationship between these factors varies among the communities. Having preschool children is a greater inhibitor of role sharing in the Cold Lake region (-.33) and in Ft. McMurray (-.26) than in Edmonton (-.17). Couples with preschool children are less able to share the provider role in the smaller communities than in Edmonton. Perhaps this is due to fewer jobs being available for women with small children, or due to a lack of daycare services or relatives to assist with childcare. Those who have migrated to Ft. McMurray are indeed younger than those in the other communities, and a greater proportion of households have small children. These factors associated with migration have a negative impact on marital role sharing. Are there other factors associated with migration that may also affect marital roles?

6.2.2. Effects of migration on marital roles

In this section, the effect migration on role sharing is examined. Proposition 20 predicts that migration inversely affects marital role sharing. Three specific aspects of migration are explored, together with their possible influence on marital roles: the number of moves, the number of stress events, and the participation of the wife in the decision to move.

Number of moves

Studies have found that migration dislocates women from labour force participation (Duncan and Perucci, 1976). Such dislocation interrupts career patterns for women, limiting role sharing. The hypothesis suggests that the greater the number of moves, the less the likelihood of shared marital role enactment.

Subjects were asked the number of times they had moved in the last five years. As reported by Gartrell et al. (1980b:117), only 18% of the residents of Ft. McMurray had not moved in the previous five years, compared with 60% in the Cold Lake area. Stability refers to the number of years persons had been resident in the area. In Ft. McMurray only about 7% of the population had lived in the community ten years or more, compared with 55% in the Cold Lake area, and 64% in Edmonton (Gartrell et al., 1980b:120-121). High mobility and low stability in Ft. McMurray may interrupt employment for women, limiting role sharing.

Table 6.3 indicates that the number of moves reported in the last five years is positively associated with sharing the the provider role (.09). The relationship is weak, and only barely significant ($p=.054$). There is no significant relationship with the domestic role. These findings contradict the general expectation stated in Proposition 20.

Although Ft. McMurray couples have moved more frequently than those in Edmonton or Cold Lake, this migratory behaviour has not impeded the sharing of the provider role. In fact, there is a small positive effect.

Table 6.3 Correlation of migration and stress factors on marital role sharing for Ft. McMurray residents

	Pearson product-moment correlation					
Indicator	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Provider	1.00					
2. Domestic	.36*	1.00				
3. Moves	.09*	.02	1.00			
4. Stress events	.22*	.10*	.19*	1.00		
5. Decision	-.06	-.08	-.03	-.03	1.00	
6. Stay	.08	-.13*	-.39*	-.16*	-.03	1.00

* significance: $p < .05$

Perhaps the job opportunities in Ft. McMurray have attracted couples and fostered provider role sharing. Larson (1977) had suggested that flexibility of marital roles might facilitate greater adjustment by couples. The association between migration and sharing the provider role supports this observation. Rather than geographical mobility impeding role sharing, it may be that couples who share the provider role are more able to adjust to moving to a new community. Ft. McMurray residents have moved more frequently than couples in the comparison communities, but this migration has not apparently impeded sharing the the provider role in and of itself.

Length of residence in Ft. McMurray (STAY) is unrelated to sharing the the provider role (cf. Table 6.3). The positive association may indicate that role-sharing tends to increase slightly with residency. The sharing of the domestic role, however, decreases with length of residence. Stability is associated with fewer stressful life events. As there is some association between sharing the provider role with both the number of moves and the stability of residence, some third, unidentified factor must apparently be associated with role sharing. It may be that the number of moves is associated with wives obtaining employment in order to compensate for the employment instability of their husbands, and concurrently, there is some association with longer residence as wives find permanent employment.

Stress events

The research literature on single industry towns notes considerable social disruption with resultant stress on residents. Respondents in Ft. McMurray

and in the Cold Lake study area were asked about the number of stressful life events they had experienced in the previous year. Ft. McMurray couples reported 2.8 stressful events compared with about two for the Cold Lake couples (Table 6.4). Ft. McMurray residents also report greater feelings of alienation than those in Cold Lake, and slightly more emotional upset. These factors suggest somewhat greater stress experienced by Ft. McMurray residents.

Proposition 21 predicts that frequency of moving is associated with a greater number of stress events, which leads to less role sharing. The correlations noted in Table 6.3 indicate that frequency of moving is associated with a greater number of stress events. The findings, however, do not support the expectation that stress leads to less sharing of the provider and domestic roles. Rather, stressful life events are related to sharing both the provider and domestic roles. The experience of stress associated with moving does not prevent the sharing of marital roles.

The positive associations between role sharing and stress events may indicate that couples who experience stress cope through greater flexibility in their marital roles. An alternative interpretation is that couples couples sharing roles experience greater stress. One of the items in the stress events scale is change of job. If both partners are working, the likelihood of stress related to the job situation may be multiplied. The stress events index also includes moving as one of the items. Contrary to predicted expectations, the tendency of Ft. McMurray couples not to share marital

Table 6.4 Indicators of stress by community

Indicator	Mean of scale scores			Analysis of Variance	
	Cold Lake	Ft. McMurray	Edmonton	F	sig.
Events[1]	1.99	2.82	_	37.2	0.000
Alienation[2]	60.27	54.24	-	133.65	0.000
Emotions[3]	18.20	18.54[4]	20.88		

1. Higher scores indicate more stress events.
2. Lower scores indicate greater alienation.
3. Higher scores indicate greater emotional upset.
4. Score adjusted as Ft. McMurray used only 9 items to construct score, whereas the EAS and Cold Lake studies used 10 items.

roles cannot be attributed to moving and the stress events associated with such moves. [1]

Effects of the decision to move

Proposition 22 predicted that participating in the decision to move positively affects sharing the roles. The logic of this hypothesis is that sharing the decision to move would reflect marital power, consistent with marital role sharing. Of particular interest is whether wives have been left out of the decision-making process, and that this "powerlessness" might be reflected in the marital role patterns. The basis for this concern is that many wives may not have participated fully in the decision to move to the remote new town of Ft. McMurray, a factor which may contribute to less equity for wives.

Data regarding how couples were involved in the decision to move to Ft. McMurray are reported in Table 6.5. The majority indicate making the decision together (56%). For 19% of the couples, the decision was made by the wife, or by the wife after consultation. In 56 cases (18%) the husband alone made the decision, and in an additional 23 (7%) by the husband after consultation. Combining these last two categories, about 23% of the couples sampled do indicate some degree of "wife powerlessness."

[1] Some researchers indicate that life events differ in the degree of adjustment required, and suggest weighing measurement items accordingly (Holmes and Rahe, 1967; Kaplan, 1980; Fischer, 1986). The scaling of stressful life events according to these procedures may have provided a more precise estimate of the relationship between migration, stress and marital roles.

Table 6.5 Frequency distribution of decision to move by Ft. McMurray residents

Decision made by	N	%
Husband only	56	17.9
Husband after consultation	23	7.4
Together	174	55.8
Wife after consultation	43	13.8
Wife only	16	5.1
Totals	312	100.0

Correlations reported in Table 6.3, however, show no relationship between the decision to move and marital role patterns. Table 6.6 shows the crosstabulation of these variables. Although wives are not full-partners in the decision to move in about a quarter of the cases, the patterns of decision making are in fact not related to the marital role sharing patterns.

In summary, aside from the selection process which has resulted in many younger families migrating to resource new towns, no detrimental effects associated with such migration have been found to impact on the sharing of marital roles. Neither the number of moves, the number of stress events, nor the participation pattern in the decision to move are associated with less sharing of marital roles. Migration to this new town does not in itself lead to less role sharing.

6.2.3. Effects of employment opportunities

The analysis of the factors which affect the sharing of roles has isolated the major influence of the wife's employment status. When wives are employed there is a greater tendency for the couple to indicate that they share both the provider and the domestic roles. The employment status of wives, however, is conditioned by the community context in which the couple is residing. Limited employment opportunities for women is a typical characteristic of resource communities. In Proposition 23 it is hypothesised that in resource communities limited employment opportunities for women will be associated with less marital role sharing. This proposition is

Table 6.6 Crosstabulation of marital role distribution by decision to move

	Decision to move							
	Husband only		Together		Wife only		Total	
Provider Role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband only	28	35.9	83	48.0	25	42.4	136	43.9
Husband mainly	31	39.7	53	30.6	23	39.0	107	34.5
Share equally	19	24.4	37	21.4	11	18.6	67	21.6
Totals	78	100.0	173	100.0	50	100.0	310	100.0

Chi-square = 4.06 4 d.f. p = 0.40

	Husband only		Together		Wife only		Total	
Domestic Role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Wife only	24	31.2	59	34.1	27	46.6	110	100.0
Wife mainly	40	51.9	90	52.0	24	41.4	154	50.0
Share equally	13	16.9	24	13.9	7	12.1	44	14.3
Totals	77	100.0	173	100.0	58	100.0	308	100.0

Chi-square = 4.12 4 d.f. p = 0.39

examined by exploring the occupational distribution of the Ft. McMurray sample, the labour force participation of married women in Ft. McMurray, and the effects of migration on the employment status of wives. In each case, it is expected that these factors are detrimental to sharing marital roles.

Occupational distribution

The occupational structure of single industry towns is typically segmented (Riffel, 1975; Larson, 1977). The single industry provides the only major employment, and few jobs are available for women in the construction, extraction, processing, and manufacturing occupations which support the single industry. This gender segmentation results in limited employment opportunities for women. The situation of women in resource communities is ably summarized by Krahn (1983:28-29):

> In an earlier generation of company towns, women might not have been allowed to participate in any part of the paid labour force. Lucas (1971:105-107) quotes the manager of one such town who reported having 800 men and only 9 women employed by the company. Lucas (1971:95, 110) also comments how any woman growing up in the community would have to leave it to find work. Today, gender differences in labour force participation may be somewhat less extreme, and variations probably exist across resource towns. Riffel (1975) notes that more employment opportunities for women appear as single industry communities mature. Marchak (1979:15) suggests that resource towns with government offices, regional shopping centres, or tourist facilities provide more jobs for women.

> Despite these variations, female labour force participation rates remain lower than average (Lucas, 1971:95; Bradbury, 1978:9-11; Clement, 1981:58) and women remain over-represented in service, clerical and retail sector occupations (Marchak, 1979:14-5; Luxton, 1980:176; Evans and Cooperstock, 19-20). In some communities, a

> few women have obtained "men's jobs" (Bradbury, 1978:9-11) but usually these have been single women. Primary sector employers still prefer not to hire married women (Luxton, 1980:176).

Krahn went on to find support for his hypothesis "that the sexual division of labour in resource towns today is similar to but considerably more pronounced than what we would observe in other Canadian urban centres" (Krahn, 1983:29).

The occupational distribution by sex of the three community samples is summarized in Table 6.7 (Gartrell et al., 1980b:446). In Ft. McMurray, 51% of the male labour force is employed in the crafts, production, processing and construction sectors, compared with only 4.5% of the employed females. In Ft. McMurray, the resource extraction industry has provided little employment for females, reflecting the gender segregation typical of the industrial and construction sectors. This segmentation of women into clerical, sales and service occupations is even more pronounced than in either Edmonton or the Cold Lake study area. Although 22% of women are employed in professional and technical occupations, even this participation is markedly less than the other communities. Gartrell et al. (1980a:155) report the concentration of women in the two largest sectors (professional/technical and clerical/sales/service) is only slightly less in Ft. McMurray (84%), than in Edmonton (91%). They report that 69% of women are employed in traditional female occupations, and that women have jobs primarily in the government, education and health care sectors, rather than in jobs in the extraction industry and construction.

Table 6.7 Occupation by sex: Cold Lake Study Area, Fort McMurray and Edmonton 1979 Survey Estimates[1] in percentages

	Cold Lake Study Area		Fort McMurray[2]		Edmonton[3]	
Occupation	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managerial administrative	5.8	2.5	5.2	2.7	13.2	3.8
Professional technical	11.5	27.4	19.6	22.4	21.4	32.2
Clerical, sales service	27.2	59.8	11.8	61.4	23.0	58.9
Farming, fishing forestry, mining	22.4	5.5	3.1	0.0	1.4	0.0
Crafts, production, processing, construction	26.8	3.1	51.3	4.5	25.0	3.7
Transport, communications	3.1	0.6	3.6	10.5	0.7	
Materials handling (labour)	0.3	0.6	3.1	1.8	3.9	0.7
Occupations - NOC	3.4	0.6	2.1	2.7	1.3	0.0
Total	100.5	100.1	100.4	99.1	99.7	100.0
N	293	164	193	112	152	129

1. Source: Gartrell et al., 1980a (Cold Lake Baseline): p. 446

2. Source: Gartrell et al., 1980

3. Source: Edmonton Area Study 1979, Population Research Laboratory, University of Alberta

Table 6.8 Occupational distribution of Ft. McMurray full-time workers, by sex and marital status

Occupational Classification	All workers		Marital Status							
			Single				Married			
			Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Managers/Professional	76	25.1	12	31.3	9	10.0	16	22.2	39	27.7
Clerical	47	15.5	9	23.7	2	3.8	31	43.1	5	3.5
Sales/Service	45	14.9	11	28.9	17	13.5	19	26.4	8	5.7
Primary/Processing	58	19.1	0	0.0	13	25.0	1	1.4	44	31.2
Construction	45	14.9	2	5.3	14	26.9	1	1.4	28	19.9
Transportation/Crafts	32	10.6	4	10.5	7	13.5	4	5.6	17	12.1
Totals	303	100.0	38	100.0	52	100.0	72	100.0	17	12.1

Table 6.8 compares patterns of occupational participation for married and unmarried females and for married and unmarried males in Ft. McMurray. Compared with single women, married women are even more concentrated in the clerical roles, with a smaller proportion in the professional/technical, sales and service, and industrial sectors. The segmentation of women into traditionally female occupations, and relative exclusion from industrial jobs, can be expected both to reduce female labour force participation and to force women into lower paying occupations. Both of these factors are likely to be deterrents to sharing the marital roles.

Using only the responses of married women who are currently employed in Ft. McMurray, a crosstabulation of occupational classification with sharing the the provider role is displayed in Table 6.9. Although there is no significant pattern in the relationship between occupational classification and sharing the provider role, those employed in the service and industrial sectors indicate greater role sharing. As the numbers in each category are very small, however, no definitive conclusions can be drawn concerning wife's type of occupation and role sharing. There is some indication, however, that role sharing may occur at the lower levels of the occupational ranks, raising the possibility that employment may be motivated by subsistence needs, rather than by career choice.

In summary, patterns of occupational distribution in the samples reflect the gender segmentation which is typical of the Canadian occupational structure. Labour force segmentation by sex is slightly more prevalent in Ft.

Table 6.9 Crosstabulation of shared marital role patterns, by occupational distribution of wives working full-time in Fort McMurray

	Occupational Classification											
	Manager/ Professional		Clerical		Sales		Service		Industrial		Total	
Shared Provider Role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband more	11	68.8	20	66.7	3	75.0	9	60.0	2	33.3	45	63.4
Equal sharing or wife more	5	31.3	10	33.3	1	25.0	6	40.0	4	66.7	26	36.6
Totals	16	100.0	30	100.0	4	100.0	15	100.0	15	100.0	71	100.0

Chi-square = 2.98 4 d.f. sig. = 0.56

McMurray than in Edmonton, which may place limits on the employment opportunities of women. The effect of occupational structure on marital roles cannot be determined conclusively from these data.

Labour force participation of married women

In their summary report on Ft. McMurray, Gartrell et al. (1980a:152-153) indicate that the labour force participation for females has increased from 20.4% in 1961 to 56.5 in 1979, a marked change. The proportion of the total labour force which is female has not increased as markedly, from 17.9% in 1961 to 27.7% in 1979. About 6% of the wives in our study reported being unemployed at the time the survey was conducted. Gartrell's report summarized that:

> women held 77% of the part-time jobs and were over-represented among the unemployed. Results from the 1979 Municipal Census show that about 19% of the women in the labour force have part-time work outside the home, and that 8% are unemployed. About 4.4% of the males in the labour force are unemployed and 2.6% have only part-time jobs. The AOSERP survey estimates of labour force participation rates for women (56.5%) were high not only because they omitted 15 and 16 year olds, but also because, in the survey 14.5% of the women in the labour force claimed to be unemployed (Gartrell et al, 1980a:153).

An examination of the patterns of employment for married women in the three areas finds a surprisingly high proportion of married women is employed in Ft. McMurray. Table 6.10 indicates that 39.3% of married women in Ft. McMurray are employed full-time compared with 30.4% in Edmonton and 28.3% in the Cold Lake area. This relatively high level of labour force participation persists for all age groups except those aged

Table 6.10 Percentage of wives employed full-time, by age for each community

	Community			
Age categories	Ft. McMurray	Cold Lake	Edmonton	All Communities
17-29	40.7	30.7	55.0	37.7
30-39	38.0	34.0	29.6	30.5
40-49	41.7	32.7	21.1	28.9
49 and over	14.3	6.3	8.3	7.3
Total all ages	39.3	28.3	30.4	31.7
Sample N	172	127	88	317

17-29, among whom a greater proportion of women are employed in Edmonton (55%).

Although a significant proportion of married women in Ft. McMurray is employed, there is evidence that unemployment is a problem for women. Gartrell et al. (1980a) report that the unemployment rates for Ft. McMurray women in 1979 exceeded the provincial average. Respondents in Ft. McMurray were asked if they had looked for work in the previous 12 months. An analysis of the responses of women is presented in Table 6.11. Over 23% of the married women reported seeking full-time work in Ft. McMurray in the previous 12 months. Of those who sought full-time work, only 56% were employed at the time of the study. Although the proportion of married women which is employed exceeds that in either Edmonton or the Cold Lake area, a significant proportion of the Ft. McMurray women in the sample, about 13%, had sought work, but were unable to obtain suitable employment. [1] Crosstabulation of shared roles with these categories in Table 6.11 indicates that those who sought work, but were not employed at the time of the study, report less sharing of the provider role than those who were employed. Thus, married women in Ft. McMurray experience greater unemployment than those in the comparison communities, and this contributes to the low incidence of shared marital roles.

The predominant finding is that a much greater proportion of married

[1] Table 6.11 presents data only for those seeking full-time employment. In addition, 11% sought part-time employment, and 63% found employment. Unemployment estimates above include those who had sought part-time work as well.

Table 6.11 Crosstabulation of shared marital roles, by full-time labour force participation of married women in Ft. McMurray

	Labour force participation									
	Sought work[1]				Did not seek work				Total	
	Part-time or Unemployed		Employed Full-time		Part-time or Unemployed		Employed Full-time			
Provider role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband only	10	43.5	0	0.0	68	82.9	1	2.4	79	44.9
Husband mainly	8	34.8	15	51.7	9	11.0	29	69.0	61	34.7
Shared	5	21.7	14	48.3	5	6.1	12	28.6	36	20.4
Totals	23	100.0	29	100.0	82	100.0	42	100.0	176	100.0

1. Respondent reported looking for full-time work in Ft. McMurray in the last 12 months.

women are in fact employed in the Ft. McMurray sample than in either the Edmonton or the Cold Lake region samples. Compared with the other communities, the Ft. McMurray sample has both the largest proportion of married women employed, and the largest proportion unemployed. These somewhat paradoxical findings may be due to the younger age structure of the community. In this relatively young population, a higher proportion of women is in fact employed. Yet among these younger married women there is also a greater desire to be employed. In Cold Lake and Edmonton, although a smaller proportion of women is employed, a smaller proportion is actually seeking employment.

In Ft. McMurray, a greater proportion are employed, yet a significant proportion would like to work in the labour force, but have been unable to find employment. The younger-aged women are more inclined to work. Even among those who have children, a high proportion is employed. Examining Table 6.12, in Ft. McMurray 34% of the mothers are employed compared with only 26% in Cold Lake and 23% in Edmonton. In Ft. McMurray only 40% of the married women with no children are not working, compared with 67% in the Cold Lake region and 59% in Edmonton.

Though the supply of jobs for women may be greater, there is also a greater demand for jobs than in the other communities. This is due primarily to the younger age of women in Ft. McMurray, and perhaps other factors such as a high motivation to work, or necessity due to a higher cost of living. If opportunity structure means the capacity of the

Table 6.12 Wife's employment status by household composition by community

Wife's Employment Status	Cold Lake						Ft. McMurray						Edmonton						All Communities					
	No children		Children		Total		No children		Children		Total		No children		Children		Total		No children		Children		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not employed	122	66.7	313	73.8	435	71.7	26	40.4	170	65.6	196	60.7	69	58.5	132	77.2	201	69.6	217	59.3	615	72.1	832	68.3
Employed	61	33.3	111	26.2	172	28.3	39	60.0	88	34.0	127	39.3	49	41.5	39	22.8	88	30.4	149	40.7	238	27.9	387	31.7
Total	183	100.0	424	100.0	607	100.0	65	100.0	258	100.0	323	100.0	118	100.0	171	100.0	289	100.0	366	100.0	853	100.0	1219	100.0
	Chi-square 2.88 1 d.f. p = 0.09						Chi-square 14.87 1 d.f. p = 0.0006						Chi-square 10.68 1 d.f. p = 0.0011						Chi-square 18.8 1 d.f. p = 0.000					

Chi-square - Wife employed by community	12.03	2 d.f	p = 0.0024
Chi-square - Family size by community	31.38	2 d.f	p = 0.0000

community to employ women, then Ft. McMurray presents a positive opportunity structure. But if opportunity is the difference between supply of jobs and the demand then Ft. McMurray presents a more limited opportunity structure than the other communities.

The rapidly growing communities like Ft. McMurray may create many jobs, but they also create greater demand for jobs due to the migration of newcomers. This combination of limited supply and high demand results in a relatively more closed opportunity structure. On the other hand, it may also be the case that the employment dynamics in the other two communities are also subject to a similar tension between supply and demand. With fewer jobs available, fewer women are in fact in the labour force, that is employed or seeking to be employed. Whereas in Ft. McMurray, 29% of the married women sought work in the previous year, in Cold Lake only 15% of the women (both married and unmarried) had sought work in the previous year (Gartrell et al., 1980b:143), an indication that seeking employment tends to decline directly with age.

Effects of migration on employment of wives

Research literature on migration suggests that when couples move, it is likely that the wife's employment pattern will be interrupted (Duncan and Perrucci, 1976; Long, 1974). This career interruption is likely to lead to: 1). employment in lower status jobs; 2). the greater likelihood of not being able to find employment; and 3). the resultant effect of less sharing of the provider role. As the great majority of Ft. McMurray residents have

migrated recently to the community, we can expect that the effects of migration on role sharing will be influenced by the ease in which wives were able to find work, and by the types of jobs they found. It is anticipated that the greater the ease of finding employment, the greater the marital role sharing.

Respondents were asked whether they were employed prior to moving, and if they had work arranged or were able to find work soon after arrival. Responses from the wives only are tabulated in Table 6.13. Of the 175 usable responses, 71 wives were not employed. Sixty-one (35.6%) were able to find employment upon arrival (or had a job arranged). Close to double that number, 110 (64.3%) had not found employment. A significantly larger proportion (39.8%) of those who found employment indicated they shared the provider role equally, than those who had not found employment (11.8%).

When these findings, however, are broken down by employment status prior to moving to Ft. McMurray, the differences are not as great. Of the 61 able to find employment, 32 (52.4%) had been employed prior to moving, and thus maintained an uninterrupted employment pattern. Interrupted employment was experienced by 29 (47.5%) of the married women. Examining the patterns of marital role allocation between these two groups, we find 40.6% of the uninterrupted group to share the provider role equally, compared with 37.9% of the interrupted group. The differences are not statistically significant.

Table 6.13 Relationship between marital role sharing, by wife's ease of finding employment, for Ft. McMurray wives

	Ease of obtaining employment													
	Able to find employment						Not able to find employment						Totals	
	Employed prior		Not employed		Total		Employed prior		Not employed		Total			
Provider Role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband only	5	15.6	2	6.9	7	11.5	42	61.8	24	57.1	66	60.0	76	43.3
Husband mainly	14	43.8	16	55.2	30	49.2	21	30.9	10	23.8	31	28.2	62	35.4
Shared	13	40.6	11	37.9	24	39.3	5	7.4	8	19.0	13	11.8	37	21.1
Totals	32	100.0	29	100.0	61	100.0	68	100.0	42	100.0	110	100.0	175	100.0

Chi-square = 1.44 2 d.f. p = 0.48 Chi-square = 3.56 2 d.f. p = 0.17

Chi-square Ease x Provider = 41.69 2 d.f. p = 0.000

	Able to find employment						Not able to find employment						Totals	
	Employed prior		Not employed		Total		Employed prior		Not employed		Total			
Domestic Role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Wife only	12	37.5	7	24.1	19	31.1	27	40.3	20	47.6	47	43.1	68	39.1
Wife mainly	13	40.6	16	55.2	29	47.5	34	50.7	18	42.9	52	47.7	82	47.1
Shares	7	21.9	6	20.7	13	21.3	6	9.0	4	9.5	10	9.2	24	13.8
Totals	32	100.0	29	100.0	61	100.0	67	100.0	42	100.0	109	100.0	174	100.0

Chi-square = 1.56 2 d.f. p = 0.45 Chi-square = 0.67 2 d.f. p = 0.071

Chi-square Ease x Domestic = 5.37 2 d.f. p = 0.07

There is even less impact of employment continuity on the domestic role. Aside from the fact that there is greater domestic role sharing in households in which the wife is employed, the employment status of wives prior to moving is unrelated to sharing the domestic role.

Those who had a job arranged prior to coming, or who found a job soon after arrival are more likely to share the provider role. But there are no marked differences in marital role patterns between those couples in which the wife's employment was interrupted compared with those who experienced employment continuity. The sharing of the provider role does vary systematically with the continuity of the wife's employment status. Fully 38.3% of the wives had been employed prior to moving and did not find work upon arrival in Ft. McMurray. It is among this group that sharing the the provider role is least apparent. The key factor, however, is whether the wife found work at all in Ft. McMurray, not the employment status prior to moving.

Those wives who had not been employed were as likely (in fact were more likely) to find employment as those who had prior employment. Moving to Ft. McMurray increases the role sharing patterns for those wives who were formerly unemployed, but decreases the role sharing for those who had been employed. Those who experience career interruption show a marked tendency not to share the domestic role. The employment involvement of wives was interrupted for 67 (39.7%) of the wives, while for only 29 (16.9%) is the career pattern of the wife enhanced. Thus a

significant proportion of the wives experienced career interruption, and it is among this group that the lowest proportions of domestic role sharing occur.

Unfortunately, these data do not include information concerning the motivations of those wives who chose not to work. Thus we are not able to assess the intentionality of these patterns. Some women may have chosen to have children at this juncture of their lives, or to assist the family in the transition process. Or, for others, migration may have occurred in order that the wife might begin a career. And for a few, the choice would have been made because both husband and wife would be able to continue working. In the absence of this information concerning the intentions and choices of the couples, there is some supportive evidence that the interruption of career patterns for married women moving to Ft. McMurray is associated with slightly less sharing of the provider role than those for whom there was no interruption.

In summary, analysis of the occupational distribution, labour force participation of married women, and interruption of employment careers offers some evidence that limited employment opportunities associated with moving to and living in Ft. McMurray tends to negatively affect sharing the marital roles. However, since a significant proportion of the married women is employed, the employment context is not sufficient in itself to account for the relatively small proportion of couples in Ft. McMurray who share marital roles. The finding that about 50% of the couples have preschool

children, compared with about 23% in the comparison samples, is also an inhibiting factor. Proposition 23 stated that limited job opportunities for women in Ft. McMurray would contribute to less marital role sharing. This proposition can be accepted with the qualification that the availability of jobs is affected by the greater demand for jobs by the younger-aged couples who moved to Ft. McMurray. A high proportion of married women was employed; yet given the age composition of the community, many were unable to find suitable employment.

The occupational distribution of women in the sample shows some evidence of sex-role segregation, and there is a great demand for jobs by women who migrated to Ft. McMurray. These factors in turn contribute to a degree of unemployment. A significant proportion of women interrupted their employment continuity when moving to Ft. McMurray. Among this group there is considerably less sharing of the provider role than among those who were able to find employment, or who were not employed prior to moving and were not working when the survey was taken. The young-age distribution, and high proportion of couples with young children, are perhaps the major factors contributing to less sharing of the provider role.

Other factors may also contribute to less marital role sharing in this rapidly growing community. Income ratios between husbands and wives are a good measure of relative resources. A comparison of the income ratios for the Cold Lake region and Ft. McMurray was made. The annual average income of husbands in Ft. McMurray is 4.6 times that of wives, whereas in

the Cold Lake region the ratio is 4.2. Krahn (1983) also found a significant proportion of women to experience downward mobility in their occupational classification. Both of these factors could also be expected to have negative effects on sharing the marital roles.

6.2.4. Effects of overtime and shiftwork

The literature on resource towns indicates the prevalence of considerable overtime and shiftwork. The literature on overtime has found no conclusive effects on marital role sharing (Pleck and Staines, 1982; Marsh, 1982). It can be expected, however, that the heavy employment demands on male workers might restrict the time and energy which husbands have to contribute to an equal-role relationship. In Proposition 24 it is hypothesized that over-involvement in work roles by husbands would be negatively associated with shared marital roles.

Respondents were asked how much overtime they worked, and whether they worked shiftwork. Pearson correlations with sharing the marital roles are reported in Table 6.14 for husbands, and Table 6.15 for wives. Thirty-nine percent of the husbands, and 14% of wives reported working shifts. Shiftwork by husbands is not significantly related to marital role patterns. A positive relationship between working shifts and sharing the domestic role comes close to significance. This may indicate that husbands who work shifts are more available during the day, and assist more readily in household tasks. Of the total sample, 45% reported working overtime.

Table 6.14 Pearson product-moment correlations of overtime and shiftwork with shared marital roles for Ft. McMurray husbands

Indicators	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Provider	1.00 140				
2. Domestic	.43* 139	1.00 139			
3. Shiftwork	-.09 151	.13 137	1.00 141		
4. Overtime	-.01 136	.05 135	-.12 139	1.00 139	
5. Overtime interferes	-.02 139	.01 138	-.11 140	.23* 138	1.00 142

* $p < .05$

Table 6.15 Pearson product-moment correlations of overtime and shiftwork with shared marital roles for Ft. McMurray wives only

Indicators	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Provider	1.00 179				
2. Domestic	.31* 179	1.00 179			
3. Shiftwork	-.08 69	.19 69	1.00 70		
4. Overtime	.25* 69	.19 69	-.12 69	1.00 69	
5. Overtime interferes	0.00 173	-.19* 179	-.06 70	.14 70	1.00 174

* p = < .05

Husbands' working overtime does not affect role sharing, but overtime by wives is significantly related to the sharing of the provider role. As the correlations include responses from both employed and unemployed wives, the relationship between overtime and role sharing may simply be a product of wives who work overtime occurring only among wives who are in fact employed.

Respondents were also asked whether overtime interfered with their lives. Responses to this question are associated with neither sharing the the provider nor the domestic role. Husbands who work overtime are inclined to agree that shiftwork interferes, but this is not the case for wives who work overtime. Rather among wives, those who disagree that overtime interferes are also more likely to report the sharing of the domestic role. Overall, therefore, there is no evidence that working overtime impedes sharing the provider or domestic roles. Rather for wives, working overtime is associated with greater sharing of the provider role. And for husbands working shifts may enhance sharing the domestic tasks. Wives who disagree that overtime interferes also indicate sharing the the domestic role.

6.3. OUTCOMES OF SHARED MARITAL ROLES

In this final section, some of the consequences of sharing marital roles are examined. It is of interest to ask whether sharing the roles increases or decreases the life satisfaction and general functioning of couples living in Ft. McMurray. Proposition 25 and 26 have proposed that living in Ft.

McMurray presents conditions which make the sharing of marital roles difficult, and that this difficulty may lead to a sense of dissatisfaction, particularly for wives. Within this relatively young population the attitudes of both husbands and wives are generally favourable to sharing marital roles. In the literature review, it was suggested that the discrepancy between intentions and aspirations, and the marital behaviours which are permitted under the conditions offered in the resource town, may lead to dissatisfactions. These propositions are examined first by assessing the relationships between sharing marital roles, and a set of life satisfaction indicators. It is expected that sharing will be associated with greater satisfaction. The second subsection examines whether wives who experience "blocked aspirations" may have negative feelings.

6.3.1. Satisfaction outcomes

Separate correlations were computed for wives and husbands. Table 6.16 reports the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients between the shared marital role indicators and a series of indicators of satisfaction. The assumption is that wives who share roles are likely to find greater overall satisfaction than those who enact traditional roles. The findings indicate that for most of the indicators, sharing the roles has no significant effect on the satisfaction scores, particularly for sharing the the provider role.

Some significant relationships, however, indicate that sharing the provider role has negative effects for some wives. For wives who share the

Table 6.16 Pearson product-moment correlations of effects of sharing roles on satisfaction indicators for Ft. McMurray wives

	Marital Role	
Indicators	Provider role	Domestic role
Life satisfaction	-.17*	-.11
Disagreements with spouse	.28*	.0013
Family satisfaction	.11	-.0006
Communication	.02	.15*
Alienation	.13*	.10
Feelings of depression	.11	.08
Social relationships	-.03	-.14*
Emotional upset	-.01	-.07
Satisfaction with community services	-.12	-.19*
Level of living	-.05	-.19*
Length of stay	.07	-.22*
Intentions to stay	.04	-.03
Housing type	-.01	.09
Better off than last year	.11	.13*

* $p = < .05$

provider role, there is less life satisfaction in general, greater disagreements in marital relationships, and a greater sense of alienation. These findings may reflect the experience of working wives who must depart from the norm of traditional female role expectations, and the role strains and conflicts of working women who must balance the demands of a job or career with ongoing demands of house and family (Meissner et al., 1975). For women, there would appear to be emotional costs involved when sharing the provider role.

For wives, sharing the domestic role is associated with better communication with husband, and accentuates the expectation of being better off financially in the year ahead. But sharing the domestic role also has its life satisfaction costs: fewer social relationships, less satisfaction with community services and lower general standard of living.

Outcomes for husbands are indicated in Table 6.17. Marital role sharing has no appreciable association with the satisfaction and outcome indicators selected, with the exception of one: Life satisfaction is positively associated with sharing the provider role. Perhaps it could have been expected that the wife sharing this role might increase satisfaction for husbands, yet decrease satisfaction for the wives.

Proposition 26 predicted that dissatisfaction with community services would be associated with less sharing of marital roles. The findings in Tables 6.16 and 6.17 indicate no significant associations between evaluation of

Table 6.17 Pearson product-moment correlations of effects of sharing roles on satisfaction indicators for Ft. McMurray husbands

	Marital Role	
Indicators	Provider role	Domestic Role
Life satisfaction	.14*	.06
Disagreements with spouse	.09	.05
Family satisfaction	-.09	-.05
Communication	.04	.08
Alienation	.05	-.08
Feeling of depression	.02	.03
Social relationships	.06	-.0075
Emotional upset	-.04	.01
Satisfaction with community services	-.09	-.02
Level of living	-.11	-.13
Length of stay	.10	.0065
Intentions to stay	-.19	.04
Housing type	.0015	-.08
Better off than last year	.09	-.02

*$p < .05$

community services and role sharing for husbands. For wives, there is no statistically significant relationship for the provider role, but a significant negative association with sharing the domestic role. For couples who are sharing roles, then, there is some indication of dissatisfaction with the community amenities. Marital role sharers, particularly dual earner couples, could be expected to rely upon community services (such as shopping centres, restaurants, daycare centres) to a greater extent than more traditional couples. The evidence of this study, however, offers only limited support, if any, for Proposition 26.

6.3.2. Disenchantment of wives

The general notion that the social context of resource communities might block the opportunites of women, leading to little role sharing which in turn results in considerable dissatisfaction is examined in this section. The responses of wives were re-sorted to isolate those who on the one hand approved of married women working, but who themselves were not employed. This group could be considered "blocked" in the realization of their images of appropriate female roles.

From the 173 wives for whom data on these questions was available, a group of 58 (33.5%) was isolated who had encountered such blockage in their sex-role preferences. A "dummy variable" indicating blockage or no blockage was constructed, and values assigned to each case. Correlations were run between this indicator and a series of indicators which might

reflect dissatisfaction. Findings are tabulated in Table 6.18. Most of the correlations are in the negative direction. Wives who may feel blocked in their aspirations have more frequent disagreements with their husbands, intend to stay in Ft. McMurray for a shorter time, and perceive that women do not have a real chance to get work. Those who feel blocked are by definition not employed, therefore experience less sharing of either the provider or the domestic roles.

Though many of the relationships are not significant, there is some indication that women who are unable to realize their role images are in fact less satisfied than those women who experience greater congruence between their ideals and actual behaviours. The evidence, however, is not great enough to indicate general dissatisfaction among wives in Ft. McMurray. The finding that about one third of the wives sampled, however, may be blocked in their marital role aspirations, and that among these wives there is evidence of dissatisfaction and alienation, may be a root of the general impressions of widespread dissatisfaction among women living in single industry and resource processing communities. The presence of this significant minority, however, should not obscure the more general finding that for the majority of married women, living in Ft. McMurray has resulted in relatively satisfactory adjustments (Krahn et al., 1981). [1]

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[1] Of particular interest is the availability of childcare. Respondents were asked whether they had encountered problems finding adequate babysitting or childcare in the previous twelve months in Ft. McMurray. Twenty-four percent indicated such difficulty. Correlations are presented in Table 6.19 of a number of factors with having difficulty finding childcare. Having problems is strongly related to the number of stressful events (.12), emotional state (.19), negative evaluation of community services (-.20), and negative evaluation of accommodations (-.18). This factor is associated with

Table 6.18 Pearson product-moment correlations of effects of "being blocked"[1] on satisfaction indicators for Ft. McMurray wives

Indicators	Pearson product-moment correlation
Life satisfaction	-.08
Disagreements with spouse	-.14*
Family satisfaction	-.01
Communication	-.05
Alienation	-.04
Feelings of depression	.0032
Social relationships	-.04
Emotional upset	-.09
Satisfaction with community services	.12
Level of living	-.04
Length of stay	-.08
Intentions to stay	-.30*
Housing type[2]	-.13*
Better off than last year	.02
Shared provider role	-.35*
Shared domestic role	-.15*
Women have a real chance to get work	-.16*

1. Married female respondents who approve of wives working, but are not themselves employed. Negative relationships indicate that being blocked results in dissatisfaction. Blocked = 1; Not blocked = 0

2. Single dwelling = 1; Attached = 2; Trailer = 3.

*$p < .05$

Table 6.19 Pearson product-moment correlations of problems finding adequate baby sitting/daycare[1]

Indicators	Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient
Age of respondent	-.29*
Years married	-.23*
Number of preschool children	-.29*
Sex-role attitudes	.13*
Husband-wife communications	.11*
Number of stressful life events	.12*
Emotional state[2]	.19*
Evaluation of community services	-.20*
Number of moves	.13*
Length of residence	-.13*
Evaluation of accommodations[3]	-.18*
Rent or mortgage/tax payments	.11*
Share provider role	-.08
Share domestic role	.06

1. Respondents were asked whether they had encountered problems in Ft. McMurray in the last twelve months finding adequate baby sitting/daycare.

2. Higher scores indicate greater emotional stress.

3. Higher scores indicate more positive evaluation.

*$p < .05$

6.4. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The findings indicate that gender segmentation of the occupational structure is present in Ft. McMurray, and that this segregation contributes in part to unemployment. Yet, there is also evidence that the development of the oil sands has contributed to the growth of a community which offers substantial employment opportunities for women. Although migration to Ft. McMurray has interrupted the employment careers of many women, for many it has given opportunity to take up participation in the labour force. Even the heavy demands of shiftwork and overtime have not apparently interfered with the sharing of marital roles; in fact, these employment factors may in some ways contribute to increased role sharing. The employment patterns and demands of husbands and wives in Ft. McMurray indicate some negative effects on marital role sharing. Yet Ft. McMurray exhibits few of the severe employment impediments typical of resource communities in general. Having reached a relatively stable point of development, being a community with two major industrial establishments, the status of Ft. McMurray as a government and transportation centre, and the growth to a population which necessitates a sizable service sector, are factors which likely contribute to the availability of a fair number of employment opportunities for women.

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[9](cont'd) sharing the provider role (.08), and the domestic role (.06), but the relationships are not statistically significant. The specific effect of having difficulties finding childcare on role sharing would require further examination. The fact that a quarter of the sample expressed this concern indicates that difficulties finding adequate childcare may inhibit female employment, and contribute to a sense of dissatisfaction for mothers in the community.

In addition to the occupational structure, the young-age distribution is the major impediment to the greater sharing of marital roles in this particular population. The regression analysis isolated the significant effect of having preschool children on sharing roles. The more children, the less likely the sharing of roles. Table 6.20 indicates that the presence of preschool children in the family unit has similar effects on sharing the marital roles in all three communities examined. When the presence of preschool children is controlled, there are no marked differences in patterns of role sharing among the three communities. The three communities, however, differ markedly in the proportion of households with preschool children. In Ft. McMurray, 46% of the family units have one or more preschool children present, compared with 29% in the Cold Lake area, and 23% in Edmonton. The unique pattern of marital role sharing exhibited among Ft. McMurray residents may best be attributed to the large proportion of families in the child-bearing and child-rearing stages of the family life cycle. Fully 80% of the households in Ft. McMurray include children, compared with 70% in the Cold Lake area study, and 60% in Edmonton.

Table 6.21 has crosstabulated the employment status of wives with the number of preschool children. A significant linear relationship exists between the number of preschool children and the wife not being employed. There is little support for the general proposition that marital role patterns are affected primarily by the stressful life situation presented in this community. Rather, less sharing of the marital roles is best attributed to the marital life cycle process that couples who migrate to

Table 6.20 Crosstabulation of the presence of preschool children in the family with marital role sharing, for all three communities

Marital role	Cold Lake				Ft. McMurray				Edmonton			
	Preschool children in the family unit											
	None		Some		None		Some		None		Some	
Provider role	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Husband only	98	23.1	93	53.8	53	31.2	85	56.7	67	32.1	33	45.8
Husband more	147	34.6	61	35.3	71	41.8	42	28.0	82	39.2	30	41.7
Share equally	180	42.4	19	11.0	46	27.1	23	15.3	60	28.7	9	12.5
Totals	425	100.0	173	100.0	170	100.0	150	100.0	209	100.0	72	100.0
	Chi-square = 72.6	2 d.f.	p = 0.0000		Chi-square = 21.4	2 d.f.	p = 0.0000		Chi-square = 8.66	2 d.f.	p = 0.0131	
Domestic role												
Wife only	172	40.4	74	42.8	55	32.7	59	39.3	57	26.8	22	30.1
Wife more	188	44.1	86	49.7	85	50.6	74	49.3	119	55.9	43	58.9
Share equally	66	15.5	13	7.5	28	16.7	17	11.3	38	17.4	8	11.0
Totals	426	100.0	173	100.0	168	100.0	150	100.0	213	100.0	73	100.0
	Chi-square = 6.94	2 d.f.	p = 0.0310		Chi-square = 2.57	2 d.f.	p = 0.2763		Chi-square = 1.73	2 d.f.	p = 0.4203	

Table 6.21 Crosstabulation of employment status of Ft. McMurray married women with presence of preschool children in the family unit

	Household composition					
Wife's employment status	No preschoolers		Some preschoolers		Totals	
Not employed	49	50.5	57	68.7	106	58.9
Employed	48	49.5	26	31.3	74	41.1
Totals	97	100.0	83	100.0	180	100.0

Chi-square = 6.09 1 d.f. p = 0.0205

this particular resource community are young, and that a greater proportion are involved in child-rearing tasks. Commitment to these tasks inhibits greater sharing of marital roles.

Although sharing the marital roles may be held up as a desirable goal, the analysis has also found that role sharing, particularly the wife's sharing of the provider role, has costs in terms of satisfaction and relationships. Rather than being a panacea for greater satisfaction marital relationships, sharing the marital roles involves considerable adjustment in both expectations and behaviours. If role sharing is viewed as a desirable social goal, greater attention must be given to ways in which women can share the benefits of employment in the labour force, and greater incentives are needed to encourage men to assume more responsibility for the daily tasks around the household. The migration of young families to resource communities in itself does not contribute to these social goals.

The attention to planning which has occurred in Ft. McMurray has apparently eliminated many of the negative effects on marital and family life which are typically associated with this type of community. As the process of social planning continues, greater attention must be given to the integration of women into the specific occupational groups which are employed in resource extraction and construction pursuits, and greater attention to the support services which assist families in sharing the marital roles. Chief among them is the provision of adequate childcare facilities which might permit women with children to enter the labour force

of these communities, and to meet the needs of relatively young families.

CHAPTER 7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1. RESEARCH GOALS

This study has investigated patterns of marital role sharing among married couples residing in three Alberta communities. The study has been guided by propositions derived from salient research literature on marital roles, and Canadian resource communities. Briefly, it has been hypothesized that:

1. Marital role patterns have become increasingly symmetrical over time in recent decades, yet tend to be characterized by a substantial degree of "complementary" rather than fully shared relationships;

2. That the sharing of roles is a function of a specific set of social, economic and attitudinal factors; and,

3. That migration to and residence in a resource extraction boom town is not maximally conducive to the enactment of shared marital roles.

These expectations have been guided by a general theoretical perspective that the transition in marital role structure toward less sex-ascriptive roles and greater equity through negotiated exchange has been marked by social strains which have perpetuated considerable asymmetry in role relationships. To the extent that change within the marital system is influenced by social conditions in contextual social systems, the specific conditions presented by

rapidly growing resource communities represent a social situation which tends to preserve this asymmetry of relationships.

7.2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Research findings are briefly summarized in three sections: 1. trends in marital roles, 2. predictors of marital role sharing, and 3. the effects of resource community conditions on marital role patterns.

7.2.1. Trends of marital role allocation

A comparison of cross-sectional data at a ten-year interval confirms the expectation that there has been a change in marital role patterns in the direction of greater sharing of marital roles. In 1970 in Yakima only 6% of couples equally shared the provider role, whereas in the Alberta communities in 1978-79, 28% were equal sharers (Table 4.1). Yet the findings indicate that, in the Alberta communities investigated, only a very few couples share equally both the provider and domestic roles. The modal pattern is a complementary relationship in which husbands are the predominant breadwinners and wives the predominant housekeepers. Other patterns include a substantial minority which is relatively traditional in their behaviour, and a smaller minority in which there is equal sharing.

For the purposes of this study, the provider and domestic roles have been differentiated. There has been greater change in the sharing of the provider

role. As the educational attainment of women has increased, a greater number have entered the labour force. Indeed, the entrance of women into the labour force is perhaps the most significant change in family system behaviour which has occurred in the post-war period (Oppenheimer, 1971; Gunderson, 1976; Lupri and Mills, 1983). The labour force participation rate of women in Canada has increased from 39.9% in 1971, to 52.1% in 1981 (Wargon, 1987). For married females, the change has been even more dramatic, from 36.9% to 52%. There has been less change in the sharing of the domestic role, a finding substantiated by other recent studies (Coverman, 1985; Berardo et al., 1986). It would appear that women have experienced greater role change in this period of time than have men.

Attitudes toward shared roles have shifted toward greater acceptance of married women being employed. Yet the attitudes of the Alberta couples are much less favourable toward mothers being employed. These findings are consistent with those of Boyd (1975) and Hobart (1981) in Canada, and with Mason et al. (1976) in the United States. In the study as a whole, the functional need to care for children, and the attitude that this is a primary role for the wife/mother is likely the most persistent value which creates strain in the transition toward symmetric role sharing. Unequal employment opportunities and compensation also pose structural impediments to greater sharing of marital roles.

7.2.2. Factors affecting marital role sharing

Although there is substantial co-variation in the enactment of the provider and domestic roles, each was found to be responsive to distinct effects by predictor factors.

Predictors of shared provider role

The strongest predictor of couples indicating the sharing of the provider role is the employment status of the wife. Wife being employed is the factor most strongly related to reporting that the provider role is shared. Other factors predictive of sharing the provider role are having no, or few, preschool children, and smaller family size in general; attitudes which approve of married women and mothers being employed; and the educational attainment of wives.

The sharing of the provider role also tended to be inversely related to husband's educational attainment and income. Role sharing tends to be curvilinearly related to age, with greater role sharing prior to and after the child-bearing and rearing stages of the family life cycle. Husbands tended to report sharing of the provider role to a greater extent than wives. And, in the more rural community examined, role sharing was related to the family being involved in farming, even though the wife may report neither being employed nor seeking work in the labour force. No definitive relationships were found between role sharing and social interaction, or interaction with kin or friends. In Ft. McMurray, role sharing was associated

with greater interaction with friends, whereas in the Cold Lake region interaction with extended kin was associated with role sharing. The effects of religious involvement and beliefs were found unrelated to role sharing, or were related in inconsistent ways. Perhaps these social interaction variables were found to be inconsequencial as they failed to tap the essential connecting element of such associations, the presence or absence of a support network which favoured role-sharing (Haas, 1982). Favourable attitudes toward role sharing were found to be associated with younger age, increased education, and female gender. Other socialization relationships may also affect these attitudes including kin contacts, less religious involvemnt and less conservative religious affiliation.

Predictors of domestic role sharing

The dominant finding is the relatively low incidence of sharing the domestic role. In the Alberta communities, only about 14% of the couples samples shared the domestic role equally, with little variation among the three communities. Sharing housekeeping was most strongly associated with the wife being employed, smaller family size, positive attitudes toward role sharing, and with older age. In Cold Lake the sharing of the domestic role was also associated with smaller income by husbands, wife reporting, interaction with kin and having preschool children. Recent research literature also underlines the necessity of investigating the particular correlates of shared housekeeping aside from sharing the provider role (Coverman, 1985; Barnett and Baruch, 1987; Berardo et al., 1987; Maret and Findlay, 1984; Peters and Haldeman, 1987; Rexroad and Shehan, 1987; Lupri and Mills,

1987; Kamo,1988).

Community context

The effect of these predictors did vary with the community context. The greatest role sharing was found in the Cold Lake region, although the population of this community was composed of the oldest average age, lowest average educational attainment, and tended to give less approval of a wife or mother being employed. It would appear that in this community "sharing the provider role" took on a particular meaning not necessarily associated with a wife being employed in the labour force. Role sharing is typical among the retired, and among those engaged in farming, and those with strong ties to kin. This constellation of demographic characteristics tended to contradict the more dominant pattern of role sharing among those who approve of more flexible roles, and in households in which the wife is employed, which were the typical patterns in the other communities. Edmonton, in which the age composition was similar to the Cold Lake region, was found to be somewhat intermediate in the degree to which couples shared marital roles. The lowest levels of role sharing occurred in Ft. McMurray.

Explained variance

In all communities, and for all predictors, the percentage of explained variation of role sharing is quite low, though perhaps consistent with other studies of this type. For the provider role, 36% of variation is accounted

for in the Ft. McMurray sample, 39% in the Cold Lake region, 30% in Edmonton, and 30% in the aggregated samples. For the domestic role, the percentage of explained variation is less: 17% in Ft. McMurray; 14% in Cold Lake; 16% in Edmonton; and 11% overall (Tables 5.4 and 5.5). This may be due to measurement error associated with the construction of the dependent variables, and with some of the independent variables, or the failure to consider or adequately measure salient causal factors. This study relied upon secondary analysis of extant sets of data, therefore had only limited control over the selection and definition of variables. An increase in the proportion of variation explained could likely be achieved through the inclusion of such additional predictor variables as the following:

Background characteristics:

having a working mother (Haas, 1982)
independent mother; absent father (Kimball, 1983)
having a supportive father, or an offensively patronizing father (Kimball, 1983)
postgraduate, liberal arts education (Haas, 1982)
growing up in turbulent 1960s (Haas, 1982)
wife's interest in employment and career (Haas, 1982)
husband's relative lack of interest in employment as a source of self-esteem (Haas, 1982)
non-sex typed socialization orientation (Haas, 1982)
parents modelled role-sharing (Kimball, 1983)
mixed-sex siblings (Kimball, 1983)
androgynous personality traits (Kimball, 1983; Bem, 1977; Baumrind, 1982)
birth order: oldest daughter; youngest son (Kimball, 1983)
husband lived on his own (Kimball, 1983)
nurturant definition of masculinity by husband (Kimball, 1983)

Facilitating characteristics:

sex-role attitudes of parents (Haas, 1982)

social support of peers (Haas, 1982)
involvement in the women's movement (Haas, 1982)
residence in a liberal, tolerant community (Haas, 1982)
flexible working hours (Haas, 1982; Gramling and Forsyth, 1987)
shorter work week (Haas, 1982; Grant et al., 1987)
adherence to a non-traditional philosophy of child-rearing (Haas, 1982)
delaying marriage (Kimball, 1983)
delaying having children until role-sharing is established (Haas, 1982)
marital power and dependency (Hiller, 1984; Kamo, 1988)
sex-ratio of community (South, 1987)

Recent literature is also differentiating the various forms of marital role sharing with greater specificity. Hiller and Dyehouse (1987) review the confusion of definitions and measurements of "dual-career" marriages, calling into question the utility of this concept. Similarly, Berardo et al., (1987) differentiate a complex typology of dual-career, dual-earner and single-earner categories of work-family role combinations. Low levels of prediction are to some extent a product of this lack of adequate definition of the dependent variable. The separation of the provider role, employment status and the domestic role in this study is consistent with this movement in the research literature toward greater specification of the types of role sharing.

7.3. RESOURCE COMMUNITY AND MARITAL ROLES

Couples in Ft. McMurray exhibit the least amount of role sharing in comparison with the other communities examined. Although this younger population is favourable toward role sharing, and a large proportion of married women are employed, fewer respondents sharing the provider and

domestic roles, in comparison to the other Alberta communities. This pattern is best attributed to the finding that migrants to Ft. McMurray are predominantly young couples, many of whom have preschool children. To some extent, the industrial composition and the occupational structure of the community also contributed to this pattern. The occupational structure of Ft. McMurray tended to be somewhat more sex segregated than the other communities, yet many women were able to find employment. Moving to Ft. McMurray both provided opportunities for employment for many married women, and represented a career interruption for some. Problems with child care may also inhibit role sharing.

Generally speaking, couples adapted very well to living in Ft. McMurray. Marital role sharing was not adversely affected by the stress of moving, by shiftwork or by extensive overtime. Gartrell et al. (1980a) report that 87.5% of married respondents in Ft. McMurray indicated satisfaction with their family life, about the same as in Edmonton. They conclude: "On the basis of this one self-reported indicator, the more rapid growth and development of Ft. McMurray do not appear to have had adverse effects on perceptions of satisfaction with family life" (p. 299). A significant minority of married women, however, did indicate some blockage in their aspirations for role sharing, and for these women living in Ft. McMurray was associated with more negative feelings. Marital role sharing was found to be associated with greater stress for couples.

In contrast to the general description of frontier resource communities, Ft.

McMurray, at least at the stage of relative stability which existed at the time the survey was taken, has organized and constructed a sufficiently diversified and developed community to enable considerable satisfaction in marital roles and family life styles.

7.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF FINDINGS

The findings of this study provide some significant insights into patterns of marital role relationships in Alberta, an indirect assessment of changes in marital roles which have occurred over time, and an analysis of the effects of migration to and residence in a rapidly growing resource extraction centre on marital role sharing. Among the most salient findings are: the relative persistence of asymmetric relationships, the multiplicity of marital role patterns, the discrepant meanings attached to sharing marital roles, and the dominant family life cycle effects on marital role patterns among resource community residents. In this section, each of these insights is discussed in turn.

7.4.1. Persistence of asymmetric relationships

The findings indicate that asymmetric rather than shared marital roles are the most dominant marital form in these three Alberta communities. As the surveys analysed in this study do not constitute a representative sample of either Alberta or the Canadian population, no generalizations can be made. Yet it could be expected that similar findings would be exhibited given a representative sample of Alberta or Canadian couples. Wargon (1987) reports

that in 1981 dual-earner families were the most common family type in Canada (29%), outnumbering those in which the husband was the sole earner (24%). The findings of our study, however, would suggest that the dual-earner households do not fully share the domestic function. Although there has been a rapid increase in dual-earner families, there is only limited movement toward "symmetrical" families, that is families in which both the provider and the domestic roles are shared equally. This finding corresponds to that body of research on marital roles which calls into question the "myth" of the egalitarian family (eg. Poloma and Garland, 1971a; Meissner et al., 1975; Lupri and Mills, 1987).

The persistence of somewhat traditional forms can be attributed to the necessity of ensuring the care and socialization of children; or to the more critical argument that the maintenance of differentiated roles is rooted in the exertion of power in a patriarchal, male-dominated society. The findings of this study would tend to give support primarily to the first of these arguments. While attitudes are favourable to the employment of married women, they are much less favourable to the employment of mothers with small children. The expectation that mothers are to provide the primary nurturance for young children effectively excludes mothers from the active labour force at least for a period of time in their lives. The fact that women are more inclined to interrupt work roles to take care of family needs contributes to their loss of economic rewards and status in their occupational roles (Hertz, 1986; Moen and Dempster-McClain, 1987), contributing to dependency in the marital relationship. This highlights the

need for employers and governments to assist women to resolve the conflicts faced by employed mothers, through measures such as the provision of adequate daycare.

The matter of equity for women may not be adequately resolved simply by women entering the labour force. Employed women have consistently been found to fall behind men in their earnings. Bohen (1984) reports that this is the case even in Europe, where efforts toward gender equality have preceeded those in North America. Bohen notes four basic social policies designed to achieve gender equity in work and family: increase women's economic power; focus on children's needs; create new work models; and rely upon individual choices by which women pressure men to do more family work. Unfortunately, she reports that even when these social policies have won public approval they have had only limited success in improving the situation of women.

The concern for social justice for women to provide adequate income, particularly for aged and retired women and single parents, and the obligation to compensate women adequately for child nurturant functions, are important matters for social policy consideration. These matters are even more urgent given the limited movement which has occurred toward equal sharing of marital roles.

7.4.2. Multiple patterns of marital role adaptation

The findings of this study lend credence to the insight that there are multiple modes of adaption among couples in their marital role sharing. Rather than a singular trend toward equally shared domestic and provider roles, this study has found at least two dominant adaptive patterns: the dual-earner, and the single-earner.

The dual worker pattern tends to be more prevalent among younger couples, when attitudes favour the wife being employed, when the wife has a relatively high level of educational attainment, and when this resource has been translated into employment in the labour force. Wife employment is also more likely to occur if the husband has a relatively low level of education, and limited income. Under these conditions, there is greater sharing of the provider role, and to a lesser extent of the domestic role.

The single-earner model is characterized by less involvement by the wives in the labour force, lower educational attainment, by less favourable attitudes toward married women or mothers working, larger family size, and generally by an older generation of couples.

Yet for many couples, role sharing is a product of the family life cycle in which sharing occurs at the initial stage of marriage, then tends to be less role sharing with the onset of children, and then greater role sharing once the children are in school, or have left the home. Educational attainment and age are predominant factors which tend to differentiate these modes

of adaptation.

Continued research would be fruitful to identify with greater precision the factors which influence the mode of adaptation. More recent research has indicated the need for even greater specification of the nature of both the aspects of maternal employment and of domestic work (Barnett and Baruch, 1987). An examination of role patterns, controlling for family life cycle stage would add clarity to this phenomenon. A recent article has fruitfully applied the family life cycle approach to investigate patterns of spouses' time spent in housework (Rexroat and Shehan, 1987). Undoubtedly a greater role can be given to the exercise of choice by couples, as noted by Scanzoni (1978). Hunt and Hunt (1982) have suggested similar findings: that there is not a uniform pattern or trend toward greater role sharing, but rather that there is a differentiated set of patterns. They identify three variants in the organization of work and family in North American lifestyles:

> Some of the young, as well as the old, will continue to be traditionalists who do not fundamentally question conventional sex-role destinies, even in dual-earning marriages, and will resist structural adaptations to sex-role change. On the other hand, those who reject gender scripts and embrace the new rhetoric of lifestyle choice will tend to become prioritizers. Some will organize lives around adult-centred priorities, and others will fashion lives more compatible with family priorities. The differentiation of the interests and perspectives of these two groups from each other, as well as from the traditionalists, will prevent consensus on family policy issues. Yet another variant form will be the integrators, couples who work together. These coworking couples will tend to become relatively self-sufficient islands, cut off from the work and family definitions and dilemmas experienced by most others (Hunt and Hunt, 1982:56).

7.4.3. Shared role meanings

This study has discovered the necessity of clarifying the meaning of "sharing the provider role," and to a lesser extent of sharing the domestic role. A substantial minority of respondents, particularly in the Cold Lake region, perceive themelves as sharing the provider role although the wife is not employed. In Ft. McMurray although attitudes generally favour role sharing, there is less reported sharing of the provider role. Continued use of the concept of provider role must recognize that it may not include gainful employment, or the wife's being in the labour force. This is the case for farm wives and perhaps for other occupational groups. Sharing of the provider role may also persist during the times in which a wife (or a husband) is not employed. Older couples tended to report sharing the provider role when neither husband nor wife were employed. For these reasons, the concept, "sharing the provider role" continues to have utility as distinct from employment status, and some caution should be exercised when equating these two concepts. [1]

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[1] A limited crosstabulation analysis was made of the relationship between wife's employment status and sharing the provider role (results are not presented). Of those households in the aggregated samples in which the wife was employed full-time, 46.6% reported equal sharing of the provider role, 50.8% husbands more, and 2.6% husbands only ($r = .41$). Crosstabulations were similar for males and females, though equal role sharing was more likely to be reported by husbands (33.2%) than by wives (23.9%). In fact in the households in which husbands were respondents, 35% of wives were actually employed full-time, whereas in those in which wives responded, only 29% were employed full-time. Distributions were also similar in the Edmonton and the Ft. McMurray samples. In the Cold Lake region, however, more respondents reported equal sharing of the provider role (33.3%) compared with Ft. McMurray (21.6%), and Edmonton (24.6%). The relationship between WEMPLOY and PROVIDER was also found to vary with

To the extent that in urban societies and communities, the sharing of the provider role is carried out predominantly through paid employment in the labour force, more definitive means of measuring role sharing may add to the precision of representing and exploring variant patterns of role sharing. Time use studies, for instance, provide more definitive and objective measures of behaviour. Another approach might be to differentiate between latent and overt patterns of role sharing. During the child-rearing years, for instance, when many wives withdraw from the labour force, some women would continue to view sharing the provider role as part of their marital responsibilities, although their active involvement in this role may be dormant. For other couples, there may be neither the expectation nor the enactment of role sharing. It would appear that even though the behaviours of these two types of couples might appear to be similar, that their life

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[9](cont'd) the age of the respondent. As age increased, the proportion of wives employed full-time tended to decrease, and the proportion of respondents sharing the provider role equally tended to increase. In the over-65 age group, there was no relationship at all between these two factors. As couples approach retirement, it would appear that husbands begin to withdraw from the labour force, and their incomes decrease. Therefore the relative contributions of wives to the family income increases. As a result, the income ratio between husband and wife decreases, increasing the relative resources of wives. As a result of this changed structure of resources, here is greater sharing of the provider role as age increases. In retirement, if both rely only upon government pensions, there is de facto equal sharing of the provider role. In the aggregated Alberta sample, the relationship between WEMPLOY and PROVIDER declines with age until there is no significant relationship in the over-65 group. While more study would be required to map more precisely the relationship between wife's employment and sharing the provider role, the intervening factors which influence this relationship would include: part time-employment, farm labour by women without pay, increased age of couples, and the relative incomes of husbands and wives. The earlier finding that males reported greater sharing of the provider role than wives tended to disappear when controlling for age. Males are disproportionately represented in the over-65 age group in the aggregated samples, particularly in the Cold Lake sample.

views are shaped by differing sets of expectations and orientations. While the Nye constructions to measure role sharing have attempted to tap "role enactments," it would appear that they reflect meanings and motivations as well as behaviours. To conceptualize "sharing the provider role" as a couple's definition of their situation recognizes the function of such constructs in maintaining continuity and meaning in the face of changed situations (Gramling and Forsyth, 1987). At any rate, responding positively that a wife "shares the provider role" does not necessarily mean that she is currently employed in the labour force.

Haas (1976) compared the "orientation toward breadwinning" of wives in Sweden and in the United States. She called into question that "a woman can be assumed to be a breadwinner if she is a wage earner" (p. 361). By combining responses regarding who is primarily responsible for earning income income, and attitudes concerning the breadwinning responsibility, four categories of orientation to breadwinning were distinguished: willing breadwinners, potential breadwinners, reluctant breadwinners, and traditionalists. She concluded, "Labor force participation does not usually mean that wives are sharing the breadwinning obligation willingly and equally with their husbands" (Haas, 1986:374). Less than a quarter of the employed wives in the U.S. sample, and 16% of the Swedish wives were "willing breadwinners." Most defined their employment as helping with family finances rather than equally sharing this role. Here again, the fact that wives are employed may not necessarily mean that they define their employment as sharing in the obligation to provide income for the family.

Smith and Reid (1986) draw from the insights of Linda Haas and Teresa Jump to coin the phrase "transitional" couples. These couples are "role sharing in values and orientation but only partially so in behavior" (Smith and Reid, 1986:10). Although a couple may not be actually sharing the provider role in terms of employment, their value orientation may view role sharing as their preferred pattern. It may be temporarily interrupted by schooling or having children, but there exists a shared intention to resume this pattern when conditions permit.

> The notion of a transitional couple in a role-sharing context can also apply to other kinds of disruption: one spouse may become temporarily unemployed for reasons other than child care, may become ill or disabled for a period, and so on. In general, to be considered transitional there would need to be evidence of a preexisting role-sharing pattern, the occurrence of an event viewed by the partners as causing a temporary departure from their regular pattern, the continuation of role sharing at some level during the period of disruption and continued adherence to a role-sharing orientation, and finally indications of a plan to return to full role sharing once the temporary event has passed (Smith and Reid, 1968:10).

The concept of transitional couples is a helpful one to explain the discrepancy this study has found for some couples who report sharing the provider role, when the spouse is not actually employed, or for those who report favourable attitudes toward role sharing, but are not enacting these intentions.

7.4.4. Migration and family life cycle

The general finding of this study is that migration to and residence in a resource community tends to inhibit role sharing largely due to the selective, filtering factor of migration. It is younger couples who have migrated to take advantage of expanded employment opportunities. As many of these younger couples have young children, there is less sharing of the provider role among them. To the extent that gender segmentation is present in resource communities, greater attention is needed to identify the specific mechanisms which may limit female employment (Gartrell et al., 1982; Luxton, 1980).

Before findings in Ft. McMurray are generalized to all "minetowns, milltowns and railtowns," however, it must be asked whether Ft. McMurray is representative of these sorts of frontier communities. Ft. McMurray is a relatively large community in comparison with other resource communities. Although it is a "single industry" town, it has two processing plants, and has some diversity of economic and occupational structure: a relatively large service, governmental and retail sector, and some other bases of industry in transportation.

The marital role patterns found in Ft. McMurray may not be typical of resource communities at other stages of development. At the time of the survey reported here, Ft. McMurray was at the production stage of development with both major plants operating. The earlier construction phase is characterized by greater mobility, dominant male sex-ratio, a less

diverse industrial/occupational base, and less developed community services. Later stages of development find a higher age level, with fewer children, and a greater proportion of women ready to again enter the labour force (Riffel, 1975; Himmelfarb, 1976; Finsterbusch, 1980; Gartrell et al., 1982).

The relationship between marital role sharing and residence in resource communities must also identify the role and function which migrating to these communities might play in the family intentions and plans of migrants. The population of Ft. McMurray is composed of young families, with relatively demanding family commitments, whose marital role patterns have been influenced by both their migration and the life stage at which they find themselves. Gartrell et al. (1982) have suggested that the use of a status attainment model to analyse the social impact of energy resource communities would add theoretical direction and methodological rigour to the study of boom towns. A longitudinal study of the relationship between migration, status attainment and marital role sharing would be an approach consistent with their suggestion.

7.5. THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS

This dissertation has discussed a number of theoretical approaches to account for patterns of marital role sharing. At the marital interaction level, normative-reference group theory, economic-resource theory and subjective-utility theory have been employed to organize observations and develop propositions. A combination of these theories was suggested as a

means to integrate findings. At the community level, family systems theory was suggested to provide insight into the manner in which the community context may provide differential access to information and energy inputs into the marital-family system.

The analysis of the marital interaction system found that reference group associations did not have a direct effect on marital role sharing. Reference group contacts, however, were associated with attitudes toward role sharing, which in turn were associated with role enactments. The cultural values of the society, mediated through socialization sub-cultures, would appear to have an influence on marital role behaviours. To the extent that social values are tending to be more accepting of role sharing in marriage, continued increase in marital role sharing can be expected, consistent with the role transition approach proposed by Pleck (1979).

Greater attention is required to gain understanding of attitudes toward husbands' sharing in household tasks, and the factors which promote domestic sharing. It is typical for husbands to define housework as an extension of leisure, that is a discretionary activity; and much of male housework is not done independently, but together with the spouse (Horna and Lupri, 1987). A rich research literature regarding the sharing of household tasks has been developing in recent years.

The economic-resource theory gains the greatest support in this study. The results reported in this study are consistent with previous research that

found shared housekeeping to vary with the employment status of the wife. Studies regularly find shared housework to vary with the spouses' relative incomes (Ericksen et al., 1979; Maret and Findley, 1984, Bird et al., 1984). Similarly, relative work time of husbands and wives tends to be related to increased domestic sharing (Atkinson and Huston, 1984; Coverman, 1985; and Pleck, 1985). Yet the economic-based theories are limited in that sharing of the provider role, or wife's employment, often does not result in significant sharing of the domestic role. The resource theories require further research to deal with the barriers which apparently prevent women from gaining resources which might increase spousal power. When women leave the labour force to take up child-rearing, a permanent deficit is created in their economic-resource base. And, in the case of wives who are employed, additional explanatory factors are required to account for the lack of sharing by husbands in domestic tasks.

The subjective-utility theory is essentially a combination of the normative-reference group and economic-resource approaches. The central notion is that couples exercise marital choices that would tend to be based on the rational selection of the optimal benefits for the couple. It is essentially an extension of social exchange theory (Nye, 1979; 1980; Emerson, 1981; Ekeh, 1974).

Hiller (1984) has attempted to integrate these various strands, and deal with the limitations of exchange theory, by researching the "power-dependence relation" in marital interaction (Emerson, 1962). She suggests that the

power-dependence theory is an elaboration of exchange theory as it, "assumes the power or advantage of one person results from the relation between the resources and needs of the people in the relationship" (Hiller, 1984:1010). The more independent a partner is, the less likely he or she will be influenced to perform less desirable maintenance tasks; the more dependent, the greater compliance to perform these tasks. One dimension of dependence is affective commitment. Greater affective commitment entails greater willingness to accept an unequal relationship, or to take on less valued domestic work (Cook and Parcel, 1977; Cook and Emerson, 1978). The power-dependent relationship is influenced primarily by relative spousal incomes, and relative affective commitments (Hiller, 1984:1013). The persistence of asymmetrical relationships found in this study may be due to such altrusitic factors as affective commitment, rewards derived from commitment to an enduring relationship, and traditional sex-role identification. It is Hiller's contention that these sorts of power-dependent factors are involved in the allocation of marital roles.

Kamo (1988) has included power-dependency in an empirical study of a large U. S. sample of couples. Drawing upon the theoretical constructions of Hiller, Kamo proposed an explanatory model to explain the division of household work, with four primary sets of causal factors: ideology, work status, relative resources, and power relationship (Kamo, 1988:182). Her test of this model found power to affect the distribution of chores, with "the compliance structure of the couples" to be the most influencial factor in the model (Kamo, 1988:192). This dimension of marital power refers to the

extent to which a partner will comply to the wishes of the other partner in a situation of conflict, as distinct from instrumental decision-making. She concludes:

> Domestic task-sharing patterns between spouses apparently are determined by numerous factors with a complex causal structure. Although the relative resources principle, based upon social exchange, and resource availability, seems to best explain how a couple allocates the sharing of various household tasks, other factors such as the power relationship and their ideologies are also relevant (Kamo, 1988:197).

While this dissertation has dealt with ideology (attitudes) and resources, the addition of the power-dependence, or compliance, factor would add an important dimension to this issue. [1] Greater sharing of the domestic role by husbands may occur as attitudes become more favourable (ideology), wives continue to enter the labour market (work status), with greater financial returns (relative resources) and women are more influencial in the power-compliance relationships with their husbands (power). After becoming bogged down in conceptualization and measurement problems, research on marital and family power may be a renewed area for family researchers (Szinovacz, 1987).

Although not mentioned directly in the review of literature, the developmental approach, in some ways, has been the theory most consistent with this study of marital roles in Alberta. The nature of marital role patterns in Ft. McMurray, for instance, has been explained in part by

[1] The inclusion of "decision to move" in the Ft. McMurray analysis was an attempt to deal with the power dimension, though unsuccessfully.

the life cycle stage of the majority of couples in that resource community. Any consideration of shared marital roles must give attention to the developmental stage in the marital life cycle (Rodgers, 1973; Aldous, 1978). Though developmental theory is somewhat descriptive rather than predictive, attention to factors which affect role transitions may be a promising source of conceptualization to better understand marital role change. Of particular importance from this perspective are the role strains of couples associated with managing the demands of child-rearing and employment.

Turning to the more macro-sociological level of analysis, a fruitful contribution to understanding marital role change in Canada is the recent research of Lupri and Mills (1987). Their study of couples in Calgary, Alberta, employs multidimensional measures of shared housekeeping, using time allocation methods patterned after ths studies of Meissner et al., (1975), Vandek (1975), Clark an Harvey (1978), and Walker and Wood (1976). This method has been found to be more reliable than estimates of housework by respondents.

Confirming the common finding that wives' sharing of the provider role outpaces husbands' sharing of the domestic role, they suggest that dependent labour theory may be the most cogent theoretical explanation of the persistence of asymmetric marital relationships.

> According to this explanation, men derive their status from, and meet their obligations through, their involvement in paid work. Men rather than women control work organizations; men rather than women occupy positions of greater authority, skill, prestige and income. We contend that women's exclusion from high-status

> positions in the occupational structure dovetails with the cultural mandate which prescribes that young mothers' primary obligation is to their family, sex partner and children (Lupri and Mills, 1987:51).

As the sources of marital power are typically rooted in resources outside the marital-family system, the search for an adequate explanation of marital role allocation must deal with conditions in the larger society. This study has not been able to provide an assessment of family systems theory, one approach which conceptually deals with the interface of the family system and the larger social environment. This study has not found that patterns of marital role allocation varied systematically with the complexity or "richness" of the socio-economic context. Yet, greater sharing of marital roles does occur with higher educational attainment, and with greater economic resources of the wife, that is with greater information and energy, to use systems theory terminology.

Those marital family systems or households that were more open to these information and energy resources were also more likely to follow norms that favoured role sharing, the family rules, or "rules of transformation," that govern system functioning (Broderick and Smith, 1979). The findings of this study of Alberta households are consistent with the notions of systems theory that environmental inputs affect the definition of family rules, or rules of transformation, which affect family system morphogenesis. Feedback systems or control structures internal and external to the marital/family system will govern or set limits to changes in role patterns. Black (1971) analysed the work/family interface using systems concepts. He

conceptualized the tendency of the demands of the occupational system on the workers in the family as being checked by a feedback mechanism in the family system which set limits on work involvements. Similarly, a wife's employment in the labour force may function as an incentive to elaborate the family system so that household tasks are performed by other family members. Currently many men may have set a limit on their involvement in housework -- a negative feedback loop which maintains role patterns in the family system in the same configuration as existed prior to the wife's working outside the home. These notions can only be suggestive for future research, and go beyond the scope and research capacity of this study.

In summary, this dissertation contains findings that would suggest further research that might integrate a comprehensive set of causal factors to explain marital role change. The path analytical model developed in this dissertation constitutes a possible framework for additional research. No recent research has utilized path analysis to approach the problem of marital role allocation. Hiller (1984) and Kamo (1987) employ path analytical techniques to formulate theory, but do not employ this methodology to test hypotheses. The path model incorporates elements of socialization and economic-resource theory. Further research might define the model through improving the attitudinal and resource measures, adding measures of marital power, and through incorporating concepts which might reflect transactions with the environment, the ideologies and structures of the social system, to which the marital dyad is inextricably tied.

7.6. LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The major limitation of this study is that it has tapped the resource community at a particular stage of its development, the production phase. At this stage, the community is reaching its greatest social and economic stability (Gartrell et al, 1982). It may be the case that many resource communities are much less favourable to the sharing of marital roles at the earlier, exploration and construction phases, and at later stages of development, the shut down and decline phases. Much of the literature on the negative effects of resource communities and rapid growth on marital and family life is drawn from research and experiences associated with the development stage. A more comprehensive study including only resource communities, differentiating the stage of development, community size, diversity of economic base and other characteristics, would add greater insight and precision to understanding the relationship between resource community growth and marital roles.

A second limitation is that the study has included only those who have remained in Ft. McMurray. Those couples and families that were unable to adapt have likely left the community. Or for others, their time in the community was a phase in living out their family goals. A more complete study must also include those who left the community in addition to those who chose to remain. Furthermore, both the Ft. McMurray and Cold Lake samples excluded native or Metis communities which had been part of the original studies, thereby neglecting issues related to the social impact of

development on aboriginal peoples.

A third limitation is that data on each couple have been gathered from only one spouse. The questionnaire is limited as it contains few interaction variables, and has few questions which probe the intentions of couples with regard to their unique marital goals and choices. The data provided make it difficult to determine whether patterns of marital roles and of marital careers, have been chosen intentionally, or are a product of relatively unplanned behaviours, and ad hoc social causes.

A fourth limitation of the study has been the assumption of longitudinal change on the basis of cross-sectional analysis, and this of differing communities. A more adequate assessment of longitudinal trends should include a panel of subjects, or at least the use of the same sample frame, in order to make more appropriate generalizations, and to differentiate generational from family life cycle processes.

A fifth limitation has been the measurement of key dependent and independent variables on the basis of single item indicators only. Future research could well employ multidimensional measures to tap a broad spectrum of the tasks which constitute the provider and domestic roles. Similarly a more rigorous construction of scales would have improved the quality of measurement. The lack of comparable data on part-time employment from all communities restricted the analysis, and did not permit examination of the effects of part-time employment and role

sharing.

This study has examined patterns of marital role behaviour in three communities in Alberta. Besides providing insight into contemporary marital behaviour in one region of Canada, the study contains significant findings which suggest the utility of an even more comprehensive assessment of marital role patterns in Canada as a whole. It is hoped that this study may contribute in a small way to understanding the continuities and uniquenesses which characterize Canadian society, and be a small building block in our understanding of marital role allocation patterns and their causal associations within the Canadian context.

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